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TWA FLIGHT 800**



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JULY 29, 1996

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Cover

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 On the go
 for gold

Spectator and sport eclipsed security fears and snafus in preparation for Atlanta opened the 1996 Summer Olympics. A lavish inaugural show celebrated the centennial of the modern games and launched the contests among more than 10,000 athletes.



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A top general denies reports of sex, violence and other misconduct by Canadian peacekeepers.



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A nuclear explosion claimed the lives of 230 people aboard a TWA jetliner. At week's end, investigators were moving to a chilling and infuriating conclusion: sabotage.



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Automakers are getting ready to launch an array of battery-powered cars, but they will not be cheap.

COVER PHOTO BY PETER HENDERSON. ART BY ROBERTO GUTIERREZ

From The Editor

Tragedy and triumph



It was one of those weeks when events and emotions collided with the tragedy of one day giving way to the triumph of another. There was the horror and heartbreak of the fiery descent of TWA Flight 800 into the choppy waters off Long Island, where 230 people perished in a suspicious crash. Forty-eight hours later in the glimmer of Atlanta's Olympic Stadium, there was the pageantry and emotion of the opening of the Summer Games. With authorities investigating a possible "criminal act" in the downing of the Pan-Am-bound jumbo jet, the possibility remained that it was a terrorist act staged intentionally on the eve of the opening of the Centennial Games.

Whether accident or sabotage, the disintegration of Flight 800 was a harsh reminder of the fragility of human life. Jack O'Hare, 38, an Emmy Award-winning television producer for ABC Sports, was about to leave his job and was flying to Paris on Flight 800 to supervise and host coverage for the network. His wife, Janet, 31, and his 13-year-old daughter, Caitlin, were with him. Their 13-year-old twin boys had stayed behind with their grandmother.

World events of recent years also underlie the aftertaste of the Olympic Games in Atlanta. In 1992, the fall of the Soviet Union led to the destruction of Yugoslavia—both hosts to Olympic Games in the past 16 years. Among those taking part in the ceremonies last Friday night in Atlanta were Jimmy Carter, who led the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and an Olympian member from Bosnia and Herzegovina, part of the former Yugoslavia.

In Canada, the Quebec referendum—more particularly, the subsequent disclosure of the secret plan by separatists to move swiftly

to independence had they won—brought home the lesson that Canada, so young and fragile, is no more invulnerable than the old empires. It is now clear that, had the federalists lost, the nation would have been plunged into a deep economic and political crisis, and that the use of force in response to violence was a very real possibility. Short of separation, there are ample signs of the potential for violence in Canadian society. In recent months, we have witnessed young people staging riots in Quebec City, New Brunswick fishermen attacking the home of a government member and a brutal police attack on demonstrators at the Ontario legislature. All belie the conventional image of a peaceful society. Clearly, not far beneath the surface, lurks a roiling anger at the system, one that could erupt with consequences that have not been fully understood.



Olympic opening ceremonies: the unpredictability of future affairs

to effect of lessening competition and keeping consumer prices up. But the best news of the week is that a wonderful 36-year-old Calgary man, a real champion, left hospital after a three-week stay, just in time to watch the Olympics. Welcome home, Dad.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Olympic moments

Anyone who has attended the Olympic Games appreciates the unique experience of sharing space with fellow citizens from around the world. The *Maclean's* staffers covering the Atlanta Games are no exception.

Sports Editor James Osofsky, Senior Writer Joe Chelley, Calgary Bureau Chief Mary Neneh and Photo Editor Peter Brugg all experienced taps at the hairbrushes. Osofsky noted: "The 10,000



Avog (left) with Chelley, Osofsky and Neneh, editors of the week

athletes who descended the ramp into the Olympic Stadium for the opening ceremonies last week seemed almost giddy, stopping to take pictures of one another. And they honored the history of the Games with prolonged applause for Leon Stukalski, the spy 97-year-old from Slovenia, the oldest living gold medalist who won in gymnastics at the 1924 Summer Games in Paris."

Chelley was moved when boxer Muhammad Ali hit the Olympic Games. He recalled that Ali had defeated the Games after winning the light heavyweight gold medal in Rome in 1960—"And last week he associated with the Olympic movement that had shunned him."

Maclean's

Magazine

Congratulates

The Retail Council of Canada's Distinguished Canadian Retailer of the Year

Mr. David R. Bloom, Chairman and CEO of Shoppers Drug Mart Limited

*M*aclean's magazine salutes Mr. David R. Bloom who has demonstrated exemplary vision, creativity and leadership in support of his industry and community.

Mr. Bloom has shown tremendous business acumen in his ability to deal with an ever-changing retail environment, with a multitude of partners and stakeholders, combined with competitive pressures, and also his genuine concern for social issues.

Congratulations to David R. Bloom, the Retail Council of Canada's Distinguished Canadian Retailer of the Year.



Retail Council of Canada



SHOPPERS DRUG MART



Parade AIDS memorial breast cancer clinics have been as busy this week as AIDS

Research funding

According to your July 15 cover story ("Beating AIDS"), AIDS has "claimed the lives of 10,000 Canadians" since 1981, and is the leading cause of death among men 25 to 44 in Canada's three major cities. In 1994-1995 alone, breast cancer claimed the lives of more than 10,000 Canadians. It is the leading cause of death in women ages 35 to 54 throughout Canada. In spite of the fact that breast cancer claims more than five times as many lives each year as AIDS, the amount of federal research funding allocated to AIDS is more than four times greater than for breast cancer. Whereas we know what causes AIDS and it is now almost entirely preventable, we still don't know what causes breast cancer. When are Canadians going to value women's health and women's lives as much as they have valued their own?

Steve R. Harris
Moncton, N.S.

For most Canadians, AIDS has already been beaten. Now that the blood supply is safe, only gay men and drug addicts are going to get it. The reason AIDS is still a problem is that gay men still get infected (which is stupid) and then infect other people (which is evil).

Joe Coleman
Edmonton

MacEachen's legacy

I was pleased to see your feature on Senator Allan MacEachen's retirement ("Memories of power," Canada, July 15). Another side of his dedication was his participation on the board of trustees of the Royal Ottawa Health Care Group. Until his retirement from our board last month, he was not only a valued member and participant, but, indeed, our secret conscience. Two quotes from your article express it very well: he was "always asking questions that matter," and "he believes that society is much more than a market."

J. Richard Norwood,
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Royal Ottawa Health Care Group
Ottawa, Ont.

Allan MacEachen was probably the person most responsible for establishing Canada as a modern welfare state. Unfortunately, we can't afford what he has wrought and never could. Under people like MacEachen, the Atlantic provinces have become so dependent on government handouts that about 40 per cent of all their government expenditure and one-third of all resident income come from federal transfer payments. Some legacy, Allan, but we're all the better for your leaving.

George H. Budge,
Belton, Ont.

False pride

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his advisors still really do not get it. In your article "A case for the Cops," (Canada, July 15), it is pointed out that one of the ways that Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps's new agency for the promotion of federalism in Quebec will attempt to achieve its goals is through "upbeat advertising campaigns encouraging an increased sense of pride in Canada." Pride does not come

'A Canadian hero'

I was dismayed to see the photograph of Father Mark Sargent standing behind a group of Somali detainees in your July 15 article "Bad memories," Canada Press, July 15. In the article was the question from Scott Taylor, editor of *Expert de Corps* magazine, "If you've got the pairs out posing for pictures, where are the guidelines?" Having witnessed Capt. Sargent's countless acts of kindness and courage, and knowing that he was awarded a *Chief of Defence Staff Commendation* for meritorious service in Somalia and recognized by CBC TV's *Man Alive* for his heroic humanitarian actions in the Balkans, I find it alarming that *Expert de Corps* promotes insinuations against a man of this character. From my standpoint, it is just as easy to interpret this as a picture of a priest protecting the welfare of some children who were caught stealing, and talking to someone who is partially obscured by the sign Father Mark Sargent is a true Canadian hero. His documented actions speak louder than Scott Taylor's unreliable interpretations of this occurrence.

Capt. James Connel
Canadian Armed Forces Reserve,
London, Ont.

through advertising, but is developed from innumerable actions, wise decisions and so on. Unfortunately, our leaders don't understand these concepts. No matter what kind of advertising campaign they come up with, the lack of integrity surrounding Copps's resignation, re-election and inordinate return to the cabinet will ensure that our sense of pride in Canada will not increase.

L. C. Peters
Nelson, B.C.

Cross-Canada tours

Jennifer Charles Gordon's column "Canada scenery: the great outdoors," July 8, *Mail*, at us don't know our own province, let alone all the other provinces, but we love the Canada. Justified to us. Charles Gordon is the grandson of the famous Prairie novelist Ralph Connor, and probably knows the Prairies fairly well. As a Saskatchewan farmer's daughter, I have frequently been diagnosed by eastern writers who complain about the flat prairies on their cross-Canada tours. I suggest that they detour off Highway 1 down to Toronto and take Highway 35 to Cornwall. The trip should be educational.

Mary Weidlich Pym
Windsor

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THE MAIL

'Without prejudice'

Peter C. Newman's comparison of British Columbia Premier Glen Clark and former Newfoundland premier Clyde Wells ("Glen Clark: the Clyde Wells of the 1990s" *The Nation's Business*, July 14) is gossamerous. To say that Newfoundland, representing less than three per cent of the population, set the national agenda is insane. Although I'm not a Newfoundland, Wells represented my viewpoint and that of probably over 60 per cent of Canadians. He wanted a referendum and when the people finally got one on the Charlottetown accord the majority of Canadians turned it down. During the Meech Lake affair, Wells expressed himself clearly, without malice or prejudice, and refused to descend to the level of invective and personal attacks of many of his opponents, who tried to make him the scapegoat for the failure of Meech Lake. This is precisely what Newman is doing.

William S. Ash,
Oshawa, Ont.

Peter C. Newman casts Clyde Wells as a parish bent on disrupting national unity.

That's a crack. I can tell Newman that in the late 1940s Newfoundlanders, whose experience with democracy was tenuous at best, were told repeatedly that if they joined Canada they would be part of a nation where all people were equal and nobody was more equal, more special or more distinct than another. Release from

trusters, Wells will be remembered as a person of great integrity who believed in the equality of all people and had the courage to stand by his convictions.

Peter Hains,
Roumont, N.J.

A bigger picture

The Stanley Cup has ceased to exist (Lucas, Bob Dale and the gift of the Mighty Ducks, *Column*, June 17). How could Allan Foster-Griffith say that? The fact that two American teams were the finalists for the coveted cup is irrelevant. The only fact of importance is that two hardworking teams competed for Lord Stanley and that both teams were deserving of the honor. I personally look forward to the day when the NHL spans across the sea to cities like London, Sydney and Moscow. Then we would truly have an international hockey league.

Joan Brown,
St. Albert, Alta.

Boomer reflections

I could not help feeling that Jane O'Hara lost the thread of her argument on the effect of funeral home advertising on baby boomers ("Baby boomers confront mortality," *Garrett Column*, July 1). Perhaps she

swallowed the bait in the ads, though it was surely wanted on an attractive young boomer, for don't they all believe life is forever? So much has been made of this group in the past 30 years, so much spent on its pleasure, amusement and education. Death is a foreign word to them. I happen to be from the last generation, the old contemplables from the swarms of current grandparents who survived the Depression and the Second World War and who are now an economic "problem." It is that generation the funeral homes are after, the long-retired pensioners with the cash, the bonds and the real estate. But the funeral homes will first have to contend with the baby boomers for they already control the purse strings, and they don't intend to ever leave this planet—life has been too good.

C. F. Simon,
Delta, B.C.

It's good to see baby boomers considering the spiritual reality of death beyond a bumper sticker that reads: he who dies with the most toys wins. Jane O'Hara writes "It's amazing how little thought we have given to two questions: how we got here and why we have to leave so soon." I would like to know, however, where I am going, and so I would suggest to her other questions: do heaven and hell exist and where will we go when we die?

Patricia O'Connor,
London, Ont.

Congratulations to Stewart MacLeod on his article "The case of the baby boomer generation" (*Garrett Column*, June 24). I have never read an article that so aptly describes this strange generation, both pros and cons. Boomerography has certainly become big business.

Frank E. Howard,
St. Catharines, Ont.

Would you please, please, please, cease, desist, from stop printing any more articles about baby boomers. I am a boomer myself, but I am so tired of all the whining about turning 50, getting old, preparing for retirement, not to mention dying. Listen up, boomers: everybody turns 50—it's not a big deal. Everybody gets old—that's not a big deal either—and in case you are just discovering this fact, everybody dies!

Jon Belzer Sliding,
Scarborough, Ont. M

Law and the Internet

As a lawyer who specializes in privacy and legal issues involving the Internet, I must correct comments in your world note "Free speech online" (*June 30*). You stated the U.S. Communications Decency Act "sought to limit pornography and sedition posted on the information highway." The CDA sought to outlaw "indecent" and "patently offensive" material on the In-

ternet. Neither word was defined in the act and was so vague as to have covered discussions on such subjects as abortion and AIDS prevention. The media have consistently misreported this story as involving a fight against obscenity and child pornography, which are already illegal in the United States and Canada, in print or on the Internet. The fight against the CDA involves a struggle to keep the marketplace right, the driving force behind the law, from imposing its standards on the rest of us.

Lawrence Kowalski,
Ottawa

On being a parent

I have a hard time understanding when the responsibility of parents for their children's future ends. We are not an affluent family. My wife and I, however, were able to pay for our two daughters' combined eight years of university education away from home, during very little pain to our own budgets—at a time when my wife and I relocated to one of the more expensive areas in Canada. More parents have to assume the responsibilities that are rightfully theirs, to ensure that their children have every opportunity of starting out life as young adults without the worries of a heavy student loan debt. ("Borrowing to learn," *Education*, June 30)

Peter MacLeod,
Stirlingville

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On patrol at CANBAT 2 in Bosnia: a texture of leadership

Shamed in Bosnia

BY BARRY CAME

The troops in CANBAT 2 considered it a chance duty, an escape from the winter mud and wartime horrors of Bosnia's steep hills and narrow valleys. From the 600-strong battalion, drawn from three steeled Quebec regiments then stationed at Val-des-Bois, northwest of Sarajevo, a rotating unit of 40 men was assigned to a straightforward, even noble task. The soldiers were charged with protecting two isolated hospitals in neighbouring villages, one housing 200 handicapped children, the other 300 recently ill adults. But that was not why some members of CANBAT 2 clamoured for the assignment. Rather, it was the opportunity to obtain access to sex, booze and black-market money. And in the view of Canada's top soldier, lead forces commander Lt-Gen. Maurice Baril, three quality of the misadventure are "nothing more than a bunch of drunks and bums" who have "no place in my army."

For six months during the bitter winter of 1993-1994, the CANBAT 2 unit guarding the hospitals at Bekevo and Drlin seems to have been out of control. According to witnesses who spoke confidentially to *Maclean's*, the row started at the top. One officer in the Royal 22nd Regiment—the celebrated Van Doos—was openly in-

A top general decries reports of sex and violence

ing with his blond, attractive, female Bosnian interpreter. Some sergeants and other noncommissioned officers at Bekevo spent their afternoons playing basketball in an abandoned building in the village, their evenings engaging in casual sex with the hospital's nurses. Ordinary soldiers sold cigarettes, coffee, alcohol, food, clothing and, in one case, even weapons on the black market. Ironically, all of this happened while the Canadian soldiers were waiting worldwide praise, as well as decorations, for coming to the aid of the patients of the two hospitals. "This whole thing is very sad and very maddening," said reserve army Capt. Raymond Bélanger, who served as a Vinko-labeled public affairs officer during the same period, often sheepishly visiting journalists through the two hospitals. "If the allegations are true, it means that all the good and extraordinary things we did over there will have their value." As in Somalia, where Canadian soldiers tortured and killed a local teenage boy, "it's just a small group of people who are believed to have screwed up. But, like Somalia, we'll all end up paying for it."

Blame of misconduct at Bekevo had been circulating within the military since troops from the Calgary-based Lord Strathcona Horse Battle Group arrived at the hospitals in May, 1994, to

replace the departing Quebec regiments. Indeed, complaints passed on by the Strathconas have prompted at least 12 separate investigations by Canadian and U.S. military police over the past two years. But it was not until late last week that the military's top brass finally admitted the full extent of the brewing scandal—when the recently appointed Lt-Gen. Baril convened a news conference at army headquarters in St-Hubert, south of Montreal, to announce that 34 serving and former soldiers are under investigation. "I am particularly distressed to have to inform you that there is clear evidence of misconduct from Canadian soldiers," the general declared pointedly. "These misdeeds come on the heels of an unexpectedly high number of cases of sexual abuse across the whole army. They all point to one overriding and critical weakness—leadership."

Baril, appointed army commander last September and widely viewed as the leading contender to succeed beleaguered Gen. Jean Hovle as chief of defence staff, told reporters that military police will continue investigating the 34 soldiers under suspicion. Those found guilty will be drummed out of the army. Another board of inquiry will review the command, leadership and discipline of the three Quebec regiments—the 12th Armoured, the 5th Artillery and the Van Doos, all based in Valcartier outside Quebec City—during their tour of duty in Bosnia. As well, an independent inquiry will examine why it took so long for the military's senior leadership to act in the matter. That probe will be headed by Lowell Thomas, who recently retired as assistant commissioner of the RCMP.

As far as Bekevo is concerned, there is clearly much to investigate. With the names of the 34 soldiers have not yet been released, sources indicated that at least five are officers. Among the allegations leveled against the soldiers they indulged in heavy alcohol consumption, used parties and indiscriminate weapons fire; one man even loaded a television set through a window. The troops are also accused of failing to aid a mortally wounded Bosnian Serb soldier, excessive use of force with patients and sexual harassment and sexual misconduct with nurses and interpreters. One soldier is alleged to have shaved the armpits, legs and genitalia of a 17-year-old female patient. Another is accused of forcing a 50-centimetre machete to Bosnia's top doctor to act as an supporter of widespread black-market activities. Many are accused of attempting operations legs to cover up their misdeeds.

Military analysts and critics alike welcomed Baril's announcement. "Finally, a frank recognition of a failure in leadership and a failure of the military

'NOT EVERYONE IS AT FAULT'

Lt-Gen. Maurice Baril's announcement that 34 Canadian soldiers are under investigation for alleged misconduct in Bosnia appeared to be a sign of new openness within the military. Last week, Baril spoke to *Maclean's* Montreal Bureau Chief Barry Came. Excerpt.

Maclean's: How do you respond to the criticism that the soldiers under investigation are merely scapegoats for failures of the military hierarchy?

Baril: I don't view a bunch of drunks and bums as scapegoats. If these people are guilty of what they have been charged with, then they are nothing but drunks and bums. And I don't give a damn what anybody says. I don't want them in my army.



Baril: 'They are nothing but drunks and bums'

Maclean's: Some of those under investigation have been accused of having sex with consenting local women. Isn't that kind of thing expected, particularly with soldiers far from home in a war zone?

Baril: fraternization with local women can compromise the security of any conflict effort. But I also think there's a larger issue here, it's immoral for anybody's soldiers to take advantage of local girls who are often frightened by the war going on around them and, in some cases, may even be starving. This isn't my idea of what our soldiers should be doing.

Maclean's: In a broader sense, what needs to be done to correct what you have described as a "culture of

leadership" in the Canadian military?

Baril: We certainly don't have to start from scratch in developing an entirely new officer corps. Not everyone is at fault here. It's only some officers and NCOs [non-commissioned officers] in leadership positions—a minority, in my opinion—who have created problems. We have to read some of these people out, re-educate those who are capable of learning the lessons that we have been taught over the past four or five years. There was a lesson in Somalia—and we're dealing with that. There was a lesson in Balcania—and we are dealing with that, too. It's an issue of what society expects of a modern army.

Maclean's: And what does society expect?

Baril: Transparency. The time has long gone when a soldier went off to war in a lonesome land, came home for a parade and everything was forgotten. Now, every soldier is connected to a television set back home. All of us—both the soldiers and the leaders—have to learn to be completely transparent in our dealings with each other and with society at large. We have to be above suspicion.

Maclean's: What was the lesson of Somalia?

Baril: It's simply not permissible to allow bad elements to go off on their own, establish their own rules of conduct and bully everyone else into following them. Beyond that, we have to understand the new situation. It's one thing to fight a classic engagement, like in the Gulf War. It's quite another to go into a place like Bosnia, where 24 TV cameras are documenting everything you do. I welcome the media's attention. It has given me a golden opportunity to talk to my troops, to spread a message.

Maclean's: But you do agree that media scrutiny has changed the military's role?

Baril: Of course. That's one of the lessons we've learned. We have already taken steps to correct the situation. I've sought advice from our allies and from academics in military schools everywhere. We put that advice to good use in training the brigades we recently sent overseas, to Sarajevo in Bosnia. We shipped in troops from Western Canada and had them pose in media. My soldiers had no way of knowing whether the guys with cameras following them were real or not.

colours," remarked defence analyst Nicholas Stelmars, a former army captain. "In Somalia, you wonder how on earth officers and senior NCOs let this happen. Rogue elements must be controlled." At the same time, however, Stelmars warned that the problem goes far deeper. "This extends well beyond Bosnia or Somalia," he said. "The core issue is leadership, and Barfi, who has an outstanding, no-nonsense reputation, is going to need every ounce of that reputation to address and solve these serious problems."

Retired colonel Michel Despeaux, who last brought the rumors of a mutiny in Bosnia into the public eye in January with an article in the military affairs magazine *Régiment de Geste*, agreed that Barfi is heading in the right direction. But he, too, argued that Bosnia or Somalia may represent the tip of the iceberg. "Forget Bosnia," he said. "It and Somalia are symptomatic of what's wrong with the army's overall command structure. We've laid a disciplined army before us and I'm sure we can have our spine. But we need action." In the same breath, he also expressed concerns about a possible overreaction. "Everybody wants to get the worst sorts of catches the military has," Despeaux cautioned. "But my fear is that someone will be over-punished."

Both Despeaux and Stelmars seemed that the widespread use of alcohol on the military is an issue that has to be addressed, but both also claim that the longstanding British tradition of allowing personnel to drink while on duty helps to strengthen the bonds among soldiers and reduces the temptation to break rules. "It's a false alarm," claimed Stelmars, arguing that the key problem is not the availability of alcohol but the apparent failure to control access to it.

ultimately the responsibility of officers. "Alcohol simply made that [lack of discipline] more obvious," he said. "It is clearly not the only cause."

Stelmars falls into a similar category. "Commanding officers know that it's going to happen," said Stelmars. "But when quiet information becomes noisy and obvious, you're going to run into problems." In fact, many of the local women who worked as interpreters and cooks for the Canadian troops were young. Fearing shelling, they would occasionally stay at the Canadian base overnight. "The troops are told not to have sex with locals," said one officer at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. "Do you think that will work 100 per cent of the time?"

In the case of the troops who were stationed at the two hospitals in Bosnia during the winter of 1993-1994, the allegations point to problems that transcended the possible contribution of available sex and alcohol. As a result, Canada's soldiers and the public are faced with a depressingly familiar spectacle: an army whose once proud reputation lies in tatters.

BY LARRY FOSTER in Ottawa and MARK CHWILKOWSKI in Quebec City



Canadian peacekeepers in Bosnia.

the army functions on a primitive basis," he told Maclean's. "It's about the leaders and the led. It's not technology, but the informal bond of faith between the officer and the soldier. That is the key weapon of any army." And in the Canadian army, that bond is under siege. So strong is the discontent among the troops and some officers, Stelmars notes, that there was actually no shock or horror following last week's announcement. "People were relieved," he said, adding that the top brass have finally acknowledged the real problem—instead of blaming junior officers for recent scandals. "This system, including this officer corps, is screwed up and requires repair."

Scott Taylor, editor of *Régiment de Geste* magazine, was more cynical. "They had no choice; they've run out of road," he said of Barfi's sharply worded statement

calling for a full investigation. "It's like the Car in the final days."

Whether current is at the heart of many of the problems, says Capt. John McCullough, a public affairs officer for the 2nd Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group in Camp Petewawa—also the former home of the now-disbanded Canadian Airborne Regiment—implicated in the Somalia scandal—McCullough says that bureaucratic considerations have too often been placed ahead of competence in the field. "We are losing a lot of good junior officers because they know this is not the way things should be," he added. But in his eyes the situation is salvageable. "We have officers who are as shrewd as you can be," he said, "but we also have many who are as good as it gets." For the Canadian military, the toughest battles may be in their own backyard.

PHILIP CHISHOLM

A standoff moves to the courts

A political threat goes to the heart of native militancy, especially in British Columbia. In most of the province, only activists never concluded treaties with native inhabitants. As a result, native groups now lay overlapping claims to the entire province. And in the heat of last year's conventions, standstill leader Jones William Ignace—also known as "Wolverine"—repeatedly rallied his followers with the battle-

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The Gustafsen Lake trial is at the heart of native militancy



Ignace during the confrontation appearing in a videotaped scene.

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CHRIS WOOD with SCOTT STEELE in Vancouver

From sacrifice to suspicion

Major Barfi from admits he is idealistic about the army. He joined in 1983, right after graduating from Ontario University of Waterloo because, he says, "serving one's nation under arms is one of the greatest callings one can answer." He rose rapidly, eventually commanding peacekeeping troops in Bosnia. But he was not surprised by Lt.-Gen. Meade Barfi's announcement last week that the army is investigating allegations of misconduct against 34 Canadian peacekeepers in Bosnia—at least five of them officers—and that a "failure of leadership" lies at the heart of the situation. "You know someone had to come out and say something, that there were problems," he says, 36, said from his home in Petawawa, 150 km northwest of Ottawa. The hard part, he added, is coping with the larger shadow cast over the military—the officer corps in particular. "You can't help but feel," he noted, "that all your hard work and sacrifice are clouded by this suspicion that people wonder, 'Is it all ohms?'"

A crisis of confidence can be particularly demoralizing for ground forces, as opposed to the navy or the air force, says Toronto defence analyst Nicholas Stelmars.

Clinton's concession

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

Since his appointment as Canada's ambassador to Washington in December, 1993, Raymond Charbon has said that he sometimes spends as much time talking about another country—Cuba—as he does about his own. The reason is simple: he is not a U.S. politician and interest groups to punish countries, including Canada, that do business with Fidel Castro's Communist regime. Charbon has lobbied almost from the day of his appointment to ensure that Canada does not fall victim to anti-Cuba passions. All of that made it particularly appropriate last week that Charbon was the first member of the Clinton administration to be interviewed in a telephone call from the state department—that Clinton had decided to postpone a controversial part of the so-called Helms-Burton Act giving Americans the right to sue foreign corporations whose "business dealings with Cuba involve property confiscated by the Castro regime." "We are truly delighted," Charbon told *Newsweek*.

And, for that matter, greatly relieved and somewhat surprised. Until that call, made about two hours before the president publicly announced his decision, Canadian officials feared the worst. With less than four months to go before the presidential election, Clinton was under increased pressure from the large and influential Cuban-American community not to postpone the provision, known as Title III. Even some members of the Clinton administration who were opposed to Title III considered its implementation inevitable. But that step would have prompted Clinton to respond in kind, raising the spectre of a retaliatory trade war with the United States. The result, said Stephen Maruca, a Washington lawyer and trade specialist, "would have had extremely grave consequences in both real and symbolic terms for the world's most important trade relationship."

One reason is the potential scale of U.S. court actions: there are more than 6,000 claims for compensation on the part of American companies and citizens whose assets were seized after Castro took power in 1959. They cover an estimated \$1.8 billion worth of Cuban property. Some Canadian companies operating in Cuba, including Shermet International Inc. of Toronto, would likely have been plagued by lawsuits from

that time to try to collect. Citizens and other governments in its anti-Castro efforts. That is unlikely, given Canada's relatively warm relations with Cuba. Last week, International Co-operation Minister Pierre Pettigrew said that "We share with the Americans that wish to see Cuba become more democratic—but we obviously do not share the American view as to the means of achieving that." More to the point for Canada, a senior adviser to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien suggested that, if Clinton is re-elected, "we have strong reasons to believe that the post-presidential will last forever."

Although that is the obvious hope of Canadian officials, no one wants to say so publicly—and no one knows anything for granted. Pettigrew and International

Trade Minister Art Eggleton said that the Liberal government will proceed with plans to duplicate the American legislation, allowing Canadian, in turn, to sue any U.S. companies or citizens that take legal action against them. As well, the Liberal government will continue to pressure the United States to rescind another part of the Helms-Burton law, Title IV. That measure, already in effect, bars entry to the United States of foreign executives working for companies that "traded" in Cuban property expropriated from America's interests. Family members also fall under the ban.

As a result, seven Shermet executives, along with their families, may be barred from entry into the United States after Labor Day (since 1995, Shermet has received over \$275 million in petroleum, exploration and processing, resort hotels and the Moss Bay nuclear cable route in Cuba). In the short term, advisers to the Prime Minister say privately that, while they do not expect Clinton to rescind the law, they are curious to see how vigorously the administration enforces Title IV. "If the list says at those seven names or so, we are not happy, but we can live with it," said one senior adviser. "On the other hand, if we suddenly see hundreds of names being added to the list, we have to come back with a pretty hard response."

Last week, though, Canadian officials publicly went out of their way to be conciliatory. Clinton, Raymond Charbon told *Maclean's*, "showed true leadership—faced with a very tough decision, he made the right choice. But, he added pointedly: "It is a clear indication

that our pressure worked."

The blarney manifestation of that pressure came during private meetings between Jean Chrétien and Clinton in late June at the annual G-7 meeting. The Prime Minister, backed by most of the other G-7 leaders, told Clinton that enforcement of the Helms-Burton law would inevitably bring retaliation and weaken Washington's credibility on a variety of international issues. Eggleton also reportedly stressed those themes during visits to Washington. The fact that Canada—seen by many Europeans and Americans also as an unapologetic ally of the United States—led the criticism was particularly striking. Vice-President Al Gore was visibly taken aback during a visit to Moscow last week when the first two questions put to him at a news conference centred on Canadian criticism of Helms-Burton.

Much of the credit on the Canadian side belongs to Raymond Charbon, a 54-year-old career diplomat who is a nephew of the Prime Minister and bears a striking resemblance to him in both appearance and manner of speech. By all accounts, he was the architect behind one of the most intense—and ultimately successful—Canadian lobbying efforts in recent memory. Those efforts began more than 18 months ago, when the first draft of the Helms-Burton bill was introduced in Congress, and continued until five days before Clinton's announcement, when the ambassador visited the White House and briefed the National Security Council on Canadian concerns. In between, the Canadian strategy involved public and private lobbying by the Canadian embassy, all of its 11 consulates in the United States, and hundreds of hours of one-on-one meetings and telephone calls between key American politicians or opinion-makers, including journalists, and Charbon.

Before every vote or debate on the legislation in the Senate or House of Representatives, Charbon telephoned each of the members, leaving messages outlining

blame to him in both appearance and manner of speech. By all accounts, he was the architect behind one of the most intense—and ultimately successful—Canadian lobbying efforts in recent memory. Those efforts began more than 18 months ago, when the first draft of the Helms-Burton bill was introduced in Congress, and continued until five days before Clinton's announcement, when the ambassador visited the White House and briefed the National Security Council on Canadian concerns. In between, the Canadian strategy involved public and private lobbying by the Canadian embassy, all of its 11 consulates in the United States, and hundreds of hours of one-on-one meetings and telephone calls between key American politicians or opinion-makers, including journalists, and Charbon.

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Canada's position. Over the past three months, he shuttled back and forth between Ottawa and Washington on a weekly basis, briefing cabinet ministers and working with the Prime Minister's Office to coordinate strategy. In Washington, he gave more than two dozen media interviews outlining Canadian concerns and delivered a series of speeches—including one in Spanish to a hostile group of Cuban-Americans in Miami. He also instructed senior members of the embassy and Canadian delegations to raise the issue with their American counterparts at every opportunity and launched what one embassy worker described as "an all-out blitz" at the annual July 4 celebrations at the Canadian embassy—attended by more than a dozen officials from the state department.

Despite those efforts, senior officials in the Canadian embassy said that most of their contacts in the White House had advised them to expect the worst. Now, in the wake of the postponement, Canadian officials are trying to conceal their delight—and their hope that Clinton will win re-election. "We believe the atmosphere will be more reasonable and less heated in six months regardless of which side wins," insisted Pettigrew. Perhaps. But said then, Charbon—who so often complains that the United States pays no attention to them, has a practical reason to hope that Washington once again forgets about its northern neighbor. □



Raymond Charbon: "It is a clear indication that our pressure worked."

several plaintiffs seeking billions of dollars worth of damages. Instead, facing sharp criticism from such close traditional allies as Canada, Mexico and member countries of the European Community, as well as growing concerns at home, Clinton postponed implementation of Title III for six months. That delay was intended, said a state department official, to give Washing-



Clinton avoiding a trade war

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CANADA

Did Glen Clark reel in a big catch?

Tough talks puts results—if it certainly can't hurt. That seemed to be the consensus in British Columbia last week as Premier Glen Clark scored a victory in his ongoing battle with Ottawa over its handling of the Pacific salmon crisis. Ever since federal Fisheries Minister Fred Mulroney unveiled a plan to slash the West Coast salmon fleet by half in late March, Clark has argued it would devastate coastal communities and lead to greater corporate concentration in the industry. Seeking enhanced provincial control over the resource, Clark blasted the federal government during last June's First Ministers' conference for arrogance, intransigence and slowness in its response to dwindling B.C. salmon stocks. But on July 15, the newly elected NDP premier achieved partial vindication when Ottawa and Victoria agreed to conduct a comprehensive, bilateral review of their roles and responsibilities in Pacific salmon fisheries management.

Announcing the breakthrough in Victoria, Clark braked the deal as "a sign of good faith from the federal government—a indication that they intend to take British Columbian issues seriously." He added: "These are significant—indeed I would say historic—concessions." In fact, under the terms of the agreement, Ottawa has acknowledged that British Columbia "should assume an enhanced role in the manage-

ment of fisheries issues"—previously under exclusive federal jurisdiction. Exactly what that role will be, though, remains to be seen. And critics point out that power-sharing could lead to overmanagement of the fishery—while Ottawa's apparent capitulation to Clark's demands may signal a disturbing new trend in federal-provincial relations.

For now, the two sides have agreed that a review of their responsibilities—in to be completed by next February—will include such issues as resource management and conservation, licensing and fleet management, habitat restoration and the reduction of administrative duplication. They will also jointly examine the impact of Ottawa's so-called Mullin plan, in addition to an \$80-million voluntary licence buyback scheme aimed at reducing the fleet, to restrict fishermen, once free to ply the entire coast, to specific geographic locations. Under a controversial "bottle stacking" provision, they can purchase multiple licences from those leaving the industry in order to fish different areas. But since licences are traded like commodities on the open market, small independent fishermen argue that stacking favours large, wealthy operators.

Predictably, last week's agreement be-



Clark: 'The strong language I used did get their attention'

tween Ottawa and Victoria was welcomed by those who support a greater role for the province. The powerful 6,000-member Vancouver-based United Fishermen & Allied Workers' Union was cautiously optimistic. "The deal opens the possibility of a victory for fishermen in B.C.," union president John Radosevich told *Medicine*.

Ottawa in the industry, however, are worried that any power-sharing scheme could lead to overmanagement. "I hope I'm wrong, but if we are going to have some sort of joint management here, that could well be the worst of both worlds," said Mike Hunter, president of the Fisheries Council of British Columbia, which represents fish processors and generally supports the Mullin plan. And Patrick Copes, a professor emeritus at Burnaby's Simon Fraser University who predicted the decline of the East Coast fishery two decades ago, criticized both governments for failing to manage salmon as a "shocky stock business." "They have both ignored the real problem here," said Copes. "It has simply been swept under the rug."

Fish aside, others warned that Ottawa's slowness could well spell trouble for future federal-provincial relations. Patrick Morahan, a professor at Toronto's Osgoode Hall Law School who has advised the Ontario government on constitutional issues, argued that by appearing to cave in to Clark's grandstanding, the federal government was simply reinforcing "the superiority of the province." Although Morahan acknowledged a continuing trend towards devolution of power, he predicted that Ottawa's decision "will probably encourage others to whine and complain in order to get their way." That is understandable.

Ottawa may have other reasons for making concessions to British Columbians. "The federal Liberals are moving in to an election mode and they realize that there are still a lot of lessons to be learned in Western Canada," says University of Victoria political scientist Norman Rait. Whatever the federal motivation, Clark could hardly contain his satisfaction at last week's developments. "This agreement is a good indication of what can be achieved when a government sincerely stands up for British Columbia," he said. "The strong language I used at the First Ministers' conference did get their attention." It was also unlikely to be the last that Ottawa learns from British Columbia's tough-talking premier.

SCOTT SEIBER in Vancouver with
LARRY FOSTER in Ottawa

Canada NOTES

STUDYING SUICIDE

The University of Toronto is establishing North America's first chair for studies in suicide, named in honor of Arthur Sommer-Rosenberg, a Toronto family physician and researcher who suffered from depression and who committed suicide in 1982 at the age of 36. The chair is the result of an ambitious fund-raising campaign by Sommer-Rosenberg's mother, Guss. The \$1 million she collected will be managed by the university.

SCHOOL REFORMS BEGIN

Newfoundland Education Minister Roger Gimes said the province will begin dismantling its church-run school system even before the Senate approves a constitutional amendment to make the action legal. Gimes's comments came after a Senate committee voted narrowly in favor of the amendment. Questioning Conservative senators said that changes in wording are needed to protect minority rights in the rest of the country.

TARGETING DEADBEAT DADS

The Ontario government announced new measures to track down parents who default on child support payments and force them to pay up. Among other things, the province intends to control the driving licenses of so-called deadbeat parents—27 per cent of whom are men. The ministry of the attorney general says that the amount of unpaid child support in the province now stands at almost \$1 billion.

MISSING GIRL MURDERED

The partially slain body of a 16-year-old aboriginal girl, Amanda Cook, was found in tall grass in the west-central Manitoba community of Rasmouth, about a half-hour drive from where police say he last saw her four days earlier. Police said the girl was strangled, but by week's end they were still searching for suspects.

CHUCKING A CHEESE BAN

Health Canada has withdrawn a proposal to ban cheese made from unpasteurized milk. The decision came after a committee of scientific experts found no proof that anyone in Canada has fallen ill from eating cheese made from raw milk, including noted vendors of Brie, Camembert and Parmesan. The proposed ban had drawn sharp criticism from cheese lovers, especially in Quebec.



Christen flanked by New Scotia protesters: accused of ducking the AIDS issue

UNDER FIRE:

In Wolfville, N.S., to open an international conference of GMI leaders, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien was confronted by about 100 angry AIDS activists. They lambasted Chrétien for not attending the recent international AIDS conference in Vancouver—the Prime Minister was on vacation—and demanded that Ottawa reserve its five-year, \$200-million, anti-AIDS fund, which expires in 1996. They also accused Chrétien of getting one set of vitamins against another after he posted out that Ottawa must fund research into other diseases such as breast cancer.

Seeking asylum in Alberta

It was supposed to showcase the best of what Vietnamese businesses have to offer Canada. But the Discover Vietnam exhibition at this year's Kinross Days fair in Edmonton quickly turned into a major embarrassment for Vietnam's Communist government. Hearing Minh Quan, a 27-year-old marketing agent for a Vietnamese transportation company, defected and went into hiding in Calgary until his claim for political asylum can be heard. Quan's lawyer, Charles Dore, said that several other visiting Viet-

namese businessmen had asked him to represent them and that as many as 12 delegates may be ready to defect.

Quan denounced the trade show as a propaganda tool. He added that although his defection might impact his pregnant wife, he could no longer live under a regime that suppresses political dissent. Vietnam ambassador Thu Minh Nguyen (Thanh) described him as a "slender," adding that "every government has to keep the law and order, to keep the country in order."

The RCMP and their shackled prisoner

After flouting Verne Clark, 28, of La Loche, Sask., not guilty of assaulting a police officer, Saskatchewan provincial court Judge Rosemary Weisberger expressed "outrage and grave concern" that the RCMP had shackled Clark in his prison cell for at least 10 hours. At her trial, Clark said she crumpled on herself and was forced to vomit as a result because she could not reach the toilet. She said she helped, but no one came to her aid. RCMP spokesmen later said that the force will hold an internal investigation into whether officers properly followed guidelines that allow them to shackle prisoners if they present a danger to themselves or others.

LAST FLIGHT INTO DARKNESS



The fiery crash of TWA Flight 800 left a trail of lost lives and dreams

Two thunderclaps on an otherwise still night, glimmering balls of flame in the sky, and seconds later, a return to a new-wave silence. That was the time it took for all 230 people aboard Trans World Airlines Flight 800 to die, and for the lives of their surviving families, friends and neighbors to be altered shockingly and irrevocably. At 8:48 p.m. last Wednesday, the TWA 747 jumbo jet was 35 minutes into its scheduled six-hour flight from New York City's John F. Kennedy International Airport to Paris, climbing steadily beyond Long Island towards the Atlantic Ocean at an altitude that had reached 15,000 feet. Then came the disintegration, followed by trails of fire and smoke. Afterward, all that remained of the huge aircraft and its contents was debris spread across a 12-by-16-mile stretch of ocean, rising from huge chunks of wreckage to badly burned bodies to a still-legible postcard and one remaining shoe, bobbing atop the water when it was found the following morning.

The final circumstances of TWA Flight 800 are all too clear, and entered the worst air disaster since terrorists blew up an Air India flight from Vancouver to London in 1985, killing 329 people. At work's end, the cause of the disaster was still unknown, but combined U.S. law enforcement agencies appeared to be moving towards a chilling and startling conclusion: sabotage. The action was reinforced by the fact that the world's eyes were already focused on the United States for the start of the Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta (page 34).

A day after the crash, a law enforcement official said that the FBI was "leaning more towards the possibility that it was a bomb that caused the plane to explode."

Jim Kalstrom, an agent with the FBI's and terrorism task force, said his group



Broken wing of the 747 (left); teenagers mourn lost classmates; recovered baggage and sneakers: a sudden flash of light

had set up a home page on the Internet and established a toll-free number in an attempt to exchange and solicit information. And, said Kalstrom, "we are looking at this as a criminal investigation." But the office of U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno said only that authorities were investigating "multiple possible explanations."

Whatever the cause, the explosion ripped lives and sensibilities on both sides of the Atlantic, and left behind a trail of lost lives and dreams that at times seemed almost unbearable in their poignancy.

Among the dead: a 35-year-old man whose girlfriend had accepted his marriage proposal less than two hours previously; 16 students and the chaperones from a French immersion program at a high school in the tiny Pennsylvania town of Monacaerville, a wealthy philanthropist who decided to take an earlier-than-planned flight home to her husband and children, and an award-winning sports television network executive who took his wife and daughter, but left his two sons behind, on his last-ever assignment for the ABC network. No Canadian was aboard the closest connection was the 25-year-old newly engaged man, Michel Reinhardt, a Frenchman who played junior hockey in Quebec and Ontario in the late 1980s. He had proposed to his fiancée, Heidi Sauer, by telephone from the airport at 4:45 that night.

U.S. federal authorities took great pains to avoid labeling the crash an act of terrorism until they had conclusive evidence. Pres-

dent Bill Clinton, in remarks from the White House, urged Americans to "not jump to conclusions." The White House was clearly seeking to avoid a repetition of the aftermath of the 1993 Oklahoma City bombing, in which 167 people died. In that incident, suspicion initially focused on Middle East terrorists. Ultimately, however, investigators arrested and charged members of a local grassroots anti-government militia group.

Yet from the outset, it was clear that federal authorities regarded terrorism as the likeliest cause of the downing of Flight 800. Although the inquiry officially remained an accident investigation, the FBI treated it as a criminal case. The bureau moved within hours of the crash to create a joint terrorism task force, with some 150 FBI agents working alongside other federal law enforcement agencies and New York City police. One of the potential suspects for investigation was a warning note sent to the London office of a Saudi Arabian-owned newspaper the day before the crash, warning that an American target would be hit within the next 36 hours and that "all will be surprised by the size of the attack, the place and the time." The note, sent to the Arabic-language newspaper of Beirut, was signed by the Movement for Islamic Change, one of two groups that have claimed responsibility for a November bomb attack in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, that killed seven people. As is almost always the case after a major tragedy of indiscriminate cause, federal authorities also

DEATH IN THE SKIES

January, 1978

Air India Boeing 747 explodes in mid-air over the Arabian Sea, killing 213. Cause: terrorist bomb.

September, 1973

Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 crashes into the ocean near Salsburgh Island, Japan, killing 261. Cause: Soviet attack.

June, 1975

Air India Boeing 747 goes down in the Atlantic Ocean south of Ireland, killing 32. Cause: terrorist bomb.

December, 1978

Pan Am Boeing 747 blows apart over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270. Cause: terrorist bomb.

July, 1995

Trans World Airlines Boeing 747 implodes off the coast of Long Island, N.Y., killing 230. Cause: unclear. www.twa.com

Guest panel crew members with fabric theories and suspicions

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WORLD

received an unspecified number of calls from unidentified people claiming responsibility. But the most compelling signs of terror were the circumstances of the glider aircraft's sudden fall from the sky. There was no advance evidence of distress or mechanical failure, other than a "warning" siren mounted on radar just before the glider disappeared from radar screens—and which may not even have come from the aircraft. Although eyewitness reports of sudden disasters are often regarded as inaccurate and inconsistent, the witness and similarity of accounts in this case—with almost all facts describing two explosions—suggested to some experts that the only potential causes were an onboard bomb, a surface-to-air missile or a freak explosion of the aircraft's fuel tanks, which carry 254,000 lb. when full. But that scenario is considered unlikely, however, because it has never happened before. As one National Safety Transportation Board official put it: "There is no known mechanical failure that can cause the kind of fireball we saw in this incident."

Similarly, authorities discounted the surface-to-air missile theory because the aircraft was well above the normal range of even the most sophisticated Stinger missiles. By a process of elimination, then, experts said that a bomb appeared most probable: some new plastic explosives cannot be detected by the kind of baggage scanners in use at Kennedy airport.

By week's end, authorities had recovered the bodies of about half of the dead. The scene of search and rescue efforts along the Long Island coast—an elegant area renowned as a getaway retreat for married New Yorkers—was particularly jarring for the consensus of officials. Despite police roadblocks aimed at sealing off the area, locals and tourists bled out to watch coast guard cutters unloading pieces from the crash. Meanwhile, workers in white jumpsuits conducted a horrifying shuntle of body bags into white and silver refrigerated trucks where they were kept because the local morgue could not accommodate them.

For the bereaved family members and other mourners, there were visits from transit consultants and group therapy sessions at a Kennedy airport hotel to try to ease their anguish. As well, there was one substantive revelation that served as consolation. In spite of the badly burned and damaged state of many of the bodies, the medical examiner conducting autopsies, Dr. Charles Wells, concluded that "for all practical purposes, it was an instantaneous death." Regardless of the cause, the trauma of TWA Flight 800 seemed likely to remain burned on the collective American consciousness for years to come. For the 280 nonsurviving people who were aboard, there was just one last and sudden flash of light—and then, eternal darkness.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH and
correspondent report



Protesters in Ho Chi Minh City demonstrating against "spatial policies"

WORLD — VIETNAM

A 'new road' for Asia's latest tiger economy

Seven years just eight years old when his family fled Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon, soon after it fell to Communist North Vietnam in 1975. Following his graduation from California's Whittier College in 1982, Lee returned to Ho Chi Minh City for the first time. What he saw shocked him. "There were no cars, hardly any automobiles, and the people were just so poor," he recalls. "I was wearing shoes, which made me pretty unique. They'd look at me and say that I didn't look Vietnamese."

But only two years later, encouraged by Vietnam's rapid economic growth, the Lees opened Ho Chi Minh City's first fast-food outlet, a Baskin-Robbins. The family now owns three ice cream shops in the booming southern metropolis and another two in Hanoi, Vietnam's capital. They expect to add two to three stores annually. With his parents still residing in California, Lee directs the day-to-day operations. He marvels at the changing face of the clientele: "When we first opened, 75 per cent of the customers

were expatriates and tourists. Now, 75 per cent are locals."

That comes as no surprise to Huyen Bui Son, who worked for South Vietnam's central bank before the fall of Saigon. Son, now deputy director of a semi-private bank in Ho Chi Minh City, believes that things are better than ever for Vietnam. "People are happier than they were 10, 20, even 30 years ago," Son says. "Now we have peace. Everybody is doing his best to improve his life and contribute to the economy."

Foreign investment has already flowed in to the tune of nearly \$27 billion over the past 10 years. Billions more

will be needed for further development, an addition to \$1 billion World Bank loan earmarked for the agriculture, transportation and tourism sectors. Canadians, involved mainly in gasoline retailing and real estate,

have 13 projects worth a total of \$50 million, but are in only 12nd place among foreign investors in Vietnam. That low ranking frustrates Canadian export and trade commissioners Ian Burney in Ho Chi Minh City. He notes that Canadian companies are understandably reluctant to commit resources to a former communist economy now in flux. So Burney and other officials urge Canadians towards joint ventures with firms from Singapore, Thailand and other Asian countries, they have local knowledge while Canadians tend to have better technology.

Even so, overseas investors are often astounded by mountains of red tape, widespread corruption and what Westerners would consider an inhibitable business climate.

After a decade of reform, the regime is cracking down on vice

Both the Harvard Institute for International Development and the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies recently warned that Vietnam's ambivalence about pursuing free-market reforms is endangering its bid to become an Asian "tiger" economy, alongside South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

Most of those countries were not answered at last month's Communist party congress, the country's most important policy event, which is held once every five years. Before the meeting, there were reports of a con-

white backlash within the party elite and predictions of a showdown between governing reformers and old-style hardliners who prefer to put the brakes on *doi moi* ("new road"), the country's decade-old industrialization drive. Many had expected at least one more year of Vietnam's ruling Politburo—Communist party chief Do Muoi, President Le Dai Anh and Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet, all in their 70s—to resign in order to placate old-guard dissenters. But that did not happen. For now, stability seems to be the party's primary aim.

In truth, Vietnam's reform has no chance but to proceed with the economic reforms it is to survive. The real question is the pace of change. An unofficial translation of the party's policy blueprint held pledges that a state's market would be set up and the rights of the private sector enshrined. But it ruled out privatization of state-owned enterprises, viewed by the party as levers of rapid growth.

Nonetheless, there have been radical leadership changes that bode well for *doi moi*. Shortly before the congress, the party bosses in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi were replaced by dynamic young reformers: "There is a new generation of younger business people and politicians who have been trained in market economics," says Hanoi's Son Phuc, deputy editor of *Tuoi Tre* (Youth News). "They are the natural successors."

Still, capitalism is an acquired taste even for today's most ardent reformers. Do not mention it, economy, not allowed. In the early 1980s, Vietnam was desperately poor. Rural provinces faced starvation. Then, Vietnam's longtime patron, the Soviet Union, began to tremble. Hanoi came to realize that only by ditching Marxism could it hope to escape its economic doom. While careful to crush the doctrine in ideologically arched terms, the Vietnamese wily executed a U-turn to get the same economic going. The regime cut subsidies to thousands of state-owned enterprises, lifted price controls and ended most foreign trading. It welcomed new trading partners to replace the Eastern Bloc countries.

Ten years on, Hanoi's gambit has paid handsome dividends. Before the war, Vietnam imported most of its rice; now it is among the world's top exporters. Its gross domestic product has averaged a robust 8.5-percent annual growth rate since 1990. Industrial production is forecast to rise 15 percent annually while agricultural output is growing by seven per cent—crucial in a country where three-quarters of the labor force still works the fields.

The second reason why due to an influx of Asian money, led by Japan, then Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Many of the

deal makers are Viet Kieu, or overseas Vietnamese. Some ethnic Chinese who left Vietnam two decades ago—including at least a few of the estimated 150,000 Vietnamese who ended up in Canada—have also flown back to revive old business or start new ones. Recent figures are hard to come across, but the Vietnamese-Canadian press often downplay their new identities.

Vietnam may be under one flag, but actual reconciliation remains an elusive goal. Reminders after four appalling war atrocities still lay their old resentments. For their part, some Vietnamese officials admit that they do not wish to be too dependent on ethnic

renew's popular "Hue" presentation is both religious and authoritarian. These days Vietnam is now holy land, more than half the country's 75 million people were born after the war. They are comfortable in their Nike sneakers, consulting their new TV sets, American basketball superstar Michael Jordan.

But the aging revolutionaries in Hanoi are not surrendering to the MTV generation without a fight. The regime can rarely wage war against the waning side of *doi moi*. Police have cracked down on a booming sex industry. Nightclubs have been told to turn off Western music. In a high profile operation several months ago, cultural bar squads fanned out across the country to guard over signs advertising foreign brands such as Pepsi and Panasonic. The campaign against "social evils" and "spiritual pollution" was motivated partly by political considerations, no cadre could afford to be seen as soft on decadence around the time of a party congress.

But the effort to stamp out Western-style consumer excess is largely cosmetic. Like their Chinese counterparts, Vietnam's leaders are alarmed by many of the social changes ushered in by economic reform. Alcoholism, drug abuse and crime are on the rise. Foreign investors have not escaped the crackdowns. In June, police raided the Ho Chi Minh City office of the Hong Kong investment bank Pwong Shing; authorities last week charged the director of the office, and his wife, with tax evasion. The case has not cleared through the opaque court system, but British consulate Kees Adkinson, active in Vietnam for six years, says the regime has legitimate concerns. "No one wants to see Ho Chi Minh City become another Bangkok, which is always the danger when you start to liberalize in a poor country," he said.

Vietnam's active Pwong Shing, Ho Chi Minh City representative for the J. Walter Thompson advertising firm, believes the Vietnamese approach to growth is a sensible one. "They are taking it a bit more slowly, but in doing so they are ensuring that the country is not overwhelmed," she said. Pwong Shing's Vietnam will also remain a success. "The price is not of the bottle. Every body has had a taste of a successful market economy and Vietnam is ready to take the next step forward."

Vietnam may be able to avoid mistakes made by other developing countries in the region. But it is a risky business. Vietnam's leaders are likely to bring one byproduct that Hanoi will have trouble undoing: the desire for greater political and social freedom. Sooner or later, Vietnam's 75 million people, already smitten with capitalism, will demand the right to choose their leaders. For East Asia's latecomer, the toughest challenge is yet to come.

DIKIMBAI STEINBERGER is Ho Chi Minh City

World NOTES

NETANYAHU IN EGYPT

On his first visit to an Arab country as prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu pressed Egypt on the "peace of process." He expressed optimism that the Middle East peace process would move forward along the Madrid 1991 "terms of reference," the basis for treaties with the Palestinians and Jordan. Syria and the Palestinian leaders, however, said there was no sign Netanyahu had softened his stance.

ALIEN SMOUGLING

Hong Kong authorities arrested a top U.S. immigration official and charged him with helping to smuggle mainland Chinese into the United States through Central America. Jerry Well Stachner spent five years with Hong Kong before becoming the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines. Well Stachner, a year ago, Agents found five fake passports when they arrested Stachner as he arrived in Hong Kong.

IRAN AND LIBYA ARE NEXT

The U.S. Senate voted to tighten the screws on Iran and Libya by punishing non-U.S. companies that invest in their oil industries. The measures are directed mainly at Japan and Europe and are designed to isolate Tehran and Tripoli for their alleged sponsorship of terrorism. Germany is among those who oppose the bill, similar to its unilaterally to the Helms-Burton Act, which penalizes Canada and others for investing in Cuba.

EPIDEMIC IN JAPAN

More than 7,400 people suffered intestinal problems during a mass outbreak of food poisoning in western Japan. Officials closed more than 100 schools due to the potentially fatal case bacteria known as E-157, which appeared in the food of several school lunches. An additional 300 cases of food poisoning, not necessarily E-157, were also reported in Yokohama, near Tokyo.

TRACING THE BAD BERRIES

After what he described as an "astonishing" 10-hour session in Baltimore, U.S. District Judge Richard Holbrooke announced to a stunned audience of Roman Catholic Archbishop Desmond Cardinal, the way for Roman Catholics in September. Holbrooke, who successfully represented the Clayton people against last November, laid out to explain from a new job on Wall Street. After months of intensive pressure and the pressure of 50,000 American troops to move Kosovo, both his position of

Keeping up appearances



Clinton greets Gore at a dinner outside Moscow in a public "display."

Fears about Boris Yeltsin's health and a possible power vacuum in Russia surfaced again when the Russian president cancelled a meeting with U.S. Vice President Al Gore less than an hour before it was to take place. Yeltsin, who had not been seen in public for nearly three weeks, left early for a "half-day," his aides said. When the 65-year-old Russian leader disappeared two weeks before the presidential election in late June, they said he had a heart attack. Last week, an uncomfortable Gore struggled to look gen-

erous, and insisted his boss was quietly recovering after a strenuous campaign. Reiterating the assurances that all was business as usual, Yeltsin also announced two major leadership appointments. Liberal minister Anatoly Chubais became chief of staff, which experts saw as a move to consolidate power by Chernomyrdin, whose the U.S. loses over popular security chief Alexander Lebed, should something happen to Yeltsin. But later in the week, Yeltsin named Gen. Igor Rodionov as Lebed's protégé—an obvious mistake.

Bosnia breakthrough

After what he described as an "astonishing" 10-hour session in Baltimore, U.S. District Judge Richard Holbrooke announced to a stunned audience of Roman Catholic Archbishop Desmond Cardinal, the way for Roman Catholics in September. Holbrooke, who successfully represented the Clayton people against last November, laid out to explain from a new job on Wall Street. After months of intensive pressure and the pressure of 50,000 American troops to move Kosovo, both his position of

power in a Serbian enclave in Kosovo, indicted for war crimes, finally stepped down. After Holbrooke, then United States President Bill Clinton and Gen. Wesley Clark, who with renewed confidence in the Serbian leadership, visited the border town of Zvezdara to broker the deal, the breakthrough was crucial to bring the war to a halt. The deal was signed in Dayton, Ohio, but the deal was not signed in Dayton. But he admitted, the deal was short of his goal, since there was no agreement to extradite Karadzic and his top generals, Radovan Mladic, to face trial at the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. That was, however, still faces a "long and rocky road."



"Guess what, Leo. I got Olympic tickets on the 'net to see rowing, diving and swimming."



"So what do you want, a medal?"

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Shaky days ahead

A wave of pessimism roils North American markets

BY JENNIFER WELLS

All Frank Merisch wanted to do was to trade a few shares in Newbridge Networks Corp. Well, 100,000 shares, which as a budding investor in Merisch's scheme, Merisch's firm, Toronto-based Alkam Management Ltd., buys and sells stocks and has \$16 million in assets under management, as the investment funds industry likes to say. So looking to pick up a small block of Newbridge would, as a rule, be no big deal. Except it was Tuesday. Last Tuesday. The day when North American stock markets got in their most vertiginous performance this year.

"I came in when the market was down 100," says Merisch. "I put in an order to buy 100,000. By the time I got the 100,000 filled, the stock had already moved up three bucks. The next day, the stock was up five bucks." So he put in a sell order. "Immediately, the stock drops two bucks."

In any other week, Merisch's concluding declaration—"it's war in the capital markets"—might have seemed hyperbolic. But on the same Tuesday that the Dow Jones Industrial Average plummeted 167 points, it ended the day on points ahead of its previous close, leaving chartists who monitor such movements staring at the graph.

Dow Jones Industrial Average

Monthly close



equivalent of a meteoric crater. A phenomenal 680 million shares changed hands on the New York Stock Exchange. In the old days, the 1960s, the trading of 100 million shares would generate heat from the Toronto Stock Exchange shafts, and then the market would die. "What we've got is a real beast, going on," says Merisch.

But between whom and over what? Even market boosters have been saying that U.S. stocks have been overvalued and were due for a correction. Any list of bad news would do, and this time around, lower than expected earnings from high technology companies prompted a bloodbath. NASDAQ, the New York exchange that is home to some high-tech firms, started last week with its worst trading day since the crash of October, 1987. On Tuesday, the market completely lost its bearings as strong profit performances from the likes of the Gateway tractor people bolstered the mood of the optimism against the pessimism coming out of the technology sector. When Intel Corp., a mega-manufacturer of computer chips, which loses almost as large a piece in the American tech psyche as Bill Gates's Microsoft, released better than expected earnings after the close, on Tuesday, the markets rose. When Netscape, the Internet software

company, released results below expectations, the market dropped.

Then there was the somber, pale specter of Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board. For months, market players have been nervous that the Fed would raise interest rates in order to curb inflation. Anxiety assailed in early July when employment and figures showed surprising job growth. U.S. unemployment is a slippy 3.3 per cent, good news for labor, but inflationary if wages, and then prices, rise.

Twenty years ago, when Greenspan was the dour chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, the average American may not have had much interest in Greenspan's power of analysis. They may not have paid attention when he announced in 1974 that the United States "was not about to get a dramatic decrease in economic activity" only to have to watch the U.S. economy fall off a recessionary cliff. But American household stockholdings now stand at \$9.4 trillion; every month, another \$34 billion goes into stock funds. There is some evidence to suggest that when markets falter, that dampens the confidence of consumers who invest for retirement. Lower confidence means lower spending, Americans.



now monitor every Greenspan twitch as closely as he observes their spending habits.

In his maiden presentation to Congress last week on the state of the U.S. economy, Greenspan, who has learned the value of communication, had expected growth to moderate on its own. But, he added, the central bank was watchful of "incoherent pressures," and would be ready to raise rates to keep those in check. With that, the U.S. markets, confident that nothing bad was going to happen soon, moved ahead. All of which left nothing resolved. "Is there inflation? Is there no inflation?" asks Merisch. "Is the economy going to stay strong or is it going to roll over?"

What is known is that the American economy has been strong, far stronger than Canada's. In the U.S., the employment-to-population ratio is at its highest ever," says Paul Summerville, director of research at Richardson Greenshield Ltd. "In Canada, it's the lowest in 45 years." The aftereffects of increasing corporate profits in 1994 and 1995 are being felt south of the border—wages are on the increase, consumers are spending big and housing prices in some major centers—Los Angeles, Phoenix, Chicago—are on the rise. Even though the Fed has been less supportive on inflation than the Bank of Canada, there remains an expectation that modest U.S. rate increases are inevitable. "If you were to make a bet," says Summerville, "you'd probably think the Fed will raise interest rates by the end of the summer." The next Fed policy setting session is scheduled for June 30.

Against a starkly contrasting view, Marc Miles says that the good news for the U.S. economy is history. Miles, a Boston economist and vice president of the consulting firm Lehman, Bell Mueller Cannon Inc., says the U.S. economy is now actually falling

into recession. Miles looks to other indicators, such as slumping car sales and rising initial jobless claims, to support his view. And he was not at all surprised by the stock market chaos. Miles has been forecasting that between the middle of 1996 and the middle of 1997, earnings of blue-chip corporations would decline as much as 30 per cent. "Clearly the analysts have been looking for doves to grow to the sky. Whether it's 30 per cent or a smaller decline, it's going to catch them very much by surprise," Miles does not predict a deep recession, nor a long one.

Nice month, he says, similar to the 1990-1991 recession—which, by the way, Lehman, Bell Mueller called

correctly in 1998. Following Miles's theory, Greenspan would move to cut interest rates in an attempt to keep the economy moving.

Even if Miles is right, what would troubles in the United States mean for the Canadian economy? Canadian unemployment is twice that of the United States, wages are stagnant, spending is flat, and consumers are staying home and hoarding on leftovers.

The expected recovery has yet to translate into an improved domestic economy, which explains why the Bank of Canada has kept interest rates low. On Friday, the Bank of Canada rate fell a quarter of a point to 4.75. Chartered banks were expected to follow suit.

Which is exactly what Paul Summerville had been expecting. Summerville is bullish on the Canadian economy,

and predicts that the fall in rates will be followed by an increase in private investment next year, prompting a rise in full-time employment in 1998. "It's a very positive moment," he says. The structural shifts—the cuts in public employment, the shift from consumption and debt towards exports and investment—have been dramatic, but will, he says, pay off eventually.

In the meantime, money markets are shaky days ahead. "I'd be surprised if it were all over," says John Embury, vice-president, equities, with Royal Bank Investment Management in Toronto. "We still haven't seen a 30-per-cent correction in the U.S. market in six years. I would be surprised if we didn't get at least that if not more."

And Embury expresses some concern for the health of the U.S. economy. "I think the people that are looking for the Fed to tighten its reins may be looking in the rearview mirror," he says. "We do believe the U.S. economy has receded in the recent past," he says when presented with Miles's views. "I wouldn't go so far as to say they're in a recession, but I can see where the guy's coming from and I worry about that."

Canadian markets always get caught in the crosshairs of American markets. "What you need to drive the Canadian market upward is for the world economy to accelerate," says Embury. Europe and Japan would be good for the comparatively laggard Canadian economy, the BoC and the Finance Ministry.

Frank Merisch is counting on that. "I believe in an extended cycle," he says. "Commodities will get driven the world is going to grow." He sounds a bit pessimistic. "I've got a strong and thriving and dying by it."

July 19, 1996, 5,428



Traders on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange jitter



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Electric cars move closer to the showroom

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The sleek two-seater that Mary O'Callaghan took for a test-drive in a hotel parking lot near Vancouver airport last April was much like any new car. The vehicle had power windows, air conditioning and a CD player, but there was one big difference: it was powered solely by electricity. "The most interesting thing is that it looks very much like a normal car," says O'Callaghan, a customer service representative with B.C. Hydro. "It's so quiet. That's the big surprise."

O'Callaghan was one of the first people in Canada to drive the Impact, a compact electric vehicle (known as an EV) that will soon be the subject of a joint research project by General Motors Corp., B.C. Hydro and the British Columbia government. GM, the world's biggest automaker, has spent more than \$200 million so far on the vehicle, one of a host of battery-powered cars that are scheduled to go on sale over the next few years in selected areas of North America. Starting next week, 20 drivers in the Vancouver area will have a chance to use GM's electric car for two weeks at a stretch, part of a series of North American tests to see how electric cars perform in the real world. "You not only have the opportunity to drive a vehicle that is environmentally friendly but also is leading-edge technologically," says Sandra Guedes, a spokeswoman for General Motors of Canada Ltd. "We are going to find out what EVs hold for the area and

GENERAL MOTORS Impact EV1

maybe the rest of Canada." Although the sight of GM's battery-powered vehicles whizzing around Vancouver is sure to attract attention, it will be many years before Canadian consumers are buying electric cars in any significant numbers. For one thing, they are not cheap, when a modified version of the Impact goes on sale in California this fall, it will cost \$47,300—and even at that price, the company will likely lose money. Moreover, battery-powered cars generally need recharging every 120 km or less. In cold weather, the maximum range is even lower.

For the auto industry, however, those problems are outweighed by another advantage. In North California legislators approved a new pollution-control law that requires that electric cars account for 10 per cent of all new cars sold in the state by the year 2003. As a result, says Robert J. Hayden, executive director of the Electric Vehicle Association of the Americas, "Electric vehicles are on their way to the showrooms of the world's largest car companies." And despite the commercial problems, Hayden predicts that electric cars will become more popular as "vehicle and battery technology improves, reducing and servicing infrastructure is put in place and cost of production decreases."

Last week, Ford Motor Co. claimed to have become the first major North American automaker this century to sell an electric vehicle. The breakthrough deal in-



Nissan Motor Co. Ltd. has announced a limited lease/ride program next spring in Japan for its Prologis EV—a four-seat vehicle that will arrive in North America by 1998. And earlier this month Montreal-based Bombardier Inc. unveiled a prototype of a small, two-person runabout that may go into production next year. Not to

BOMBARDIER Neighborhood Electric Vehicle

withstand the sale of 15 modified Ford Ranger pickup trucks to municipal authorities in Santa Clara County, Calif. The \$45,000 vehicles have a top speed of 125 km/h and a range of 100 km. In April, American Honda Motor Co. Inc. announced plans to lease its Honda EV to commercial fleets and consumers in California beginning in spring of 1997. Described by one early test-driver as a "Honda Civic on steroids," the four-seat, front-wheel drive car is powered by 1,000 lb. of nickel-metal hydride batteries, which must be replaced every four years. Meanwhile,



AMERICAN HONDA Honda EV

tested for highway use, the so-called Neighborhood Electric Vehicle is primarily aimed at retirement communities in the U.S. south.

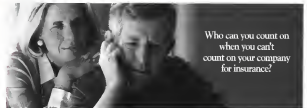
GM's choice of the B.C. lower mainland for its only Canadian EV test is not surprising. Last December, the B.C. government announced the toughest automobile emission standards in the country. Starting in

2001, all new cars sold in the province will have to meet California's stringent requirements. The province is also planning to set targets for the proportion of zero-emission vehicles sold in the province. "The problem of air quality is of a great concern here, especially in the lower mainland," says Denis Hupus, manager of the clean vehicles and fuels programs for British Columbia's environment ministry. "I don't see that kind of groundswell on air quality in other places, like Ontario."

The trial program is scheduled to begin on July 29 and will run until November. In preparation, B.C. Hydro will install special \$20-volt charging stations in the homes of the 20 drivers taking part in the study. Each will be asked to keep a detailed diary on the car's handling, convenience and use under a variety of geographic and weather conditions. "It's an education for us and it's an education for the public as well," says GM's Guedes.

Already, some environmentalists are questioning how successful electric cars will be in cutting pollution. They point out that the cars, if widely used, would greatly increase demand for electricity, often from nuclear or coal-fired plants. But like the introduction of the gasoline-powered car 100 years ago, the idea of a battery-powered car seems, to some, inevitable.

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The Bottom Line

Summer in the city

For several years now, we've been lectured about the glories of the global economy. We've been prodded to compete in international markets, to use the latest technology, to wear beepers and to carry cellular phones at all times. As part of that mindless push, corporations and their workers have been restructured, retooled and re-engineered almost beyond recognition.

One of the most lamentable aspects of this new reality is the death of the traditional summer lull. There used to be a seasonal sensitivity to the conduct of business. It was understood that one didn't embark on a corporate rat or rack the markets during peak cottage season.

But in the global economy, perpetual motion is considered crucial. People are acutely worried about job security and establishing their indispensability. For living years of downsizing, many are carrying heavier loads than ever before. The prevailing wisdom seems to be that only losers lose touch with the office far more than a few hours.

But the question remains whether or not all this killing around is the best actually improves productivity or efficiency. At Canada Trust, where 100 people have been "letched" since January, employees were reluctant to take off more than three days in a row. That led to a recent management campaign against worker burnout. The company began to limit the amount of time any group can't in New Zealand last week to endorse four trade unions to 18 members. But not surprisingly, the righteous unilateral busting over Cuba and the Hubs-Buroto law completely eclipsed a greater—if less glorious—victory. It is a unanimous judgment that even surpassed Ottawa residents. Canada won its battle to protect dairy, poultry and egg farmers from a deluge of cheap U.S. imports. According to industry estimates, as many as 27,000 Canadian jobs were salvaged. That's a few more than Cuban business interests provided. But later, in the summer, people don't seem to have their priorities straight any more, anyway.

With Alan Greenspan, the enigmatic chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and his perspective on short-term interest rates. In other words, they are looking for direction from someone who admitted in June, 1995, "I spent a substantial part of my last endorsement to lend all questions and worry terribly that I might end up being too clear." No wonder the market can't seem to read his mind.

Perhaps the least auspicious aspect of the contract negotiations between the Canadian Auto Workers union and the Big Three car companies is that they have started in the dead of summer. Cross workers began to fly before anyone even came to the table. There's every chance that more progress would be made with cooler air—and cooler heads—in the winter.

No doubt the same would apply at Boeing's plant in Winnipeg. Ten-pipers fired all 900 workers walked off the job recently. After a scuffle with goons, a dozen workers were arrested and several people were sent to hospital with minor injuries.

On the corporate front, there's been a steady stream of postings. On July 25, Halliburton officially gobbled up rival publisher Southern Inc. And Barrick has made an aggressive, unopposed play for Amalgam Resources, a junior mining venture.

Trade issues have also continued to simmer. The four Pacific Rim countries, seven Asian group met in New Zealand last week to endorse four trade unions to 18 members. But not surprisingly, the righteous unilateral busting over Cuba and the Hubs-Buroto law completely eclipsed a greater—if less glorious—victory. It is a unanimous judgment that even surpassed Ottawa residents. Canada won its battle to protect dairy, poultry and egg farmers from a deluge of cheap U.S. imports. According to industry estimates, as many as 27,000 Canadian jobs were salvaged. That's a few more than Cuban business interests provided. But later, in the summer, people don't seem to have their priorities straight any more, anyway.

TARIFF TRIUMPH

The Canadian government won a major victory in its fight to protect dairy and poultry farmers from cross-border competition. An international trade panel filed an interim decision upholding Canada's right to impose tariffs as high as 300 per cent on dairy and poultry imports. The decision is good news for 32,000 farmers but means that Canadian consumers will continue to pay higher prices than their U.S. counterparts.

COKE BUYS WATER MAKER

Atlanta-based Coca-Cola Enterprises Inc. agreed to pay \$225 million for Non-Beverages Inc. of Montreal. Non produces the Nova brand of spring water, the country's second-highest-selling bottled water. Even, imported from France, ranks first.

MURDOCH'S REACH

Australian-born Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. is poised to become the largest owner of television stations in the United States. The media conglomerate is in price-setting with a \$5.4-billion buyout of MCA Television Communications Group Inc., which owns 10 stations, all affiliated with Murdoch's Fox Network. If approved by regulators, the deal will give News Corp. access to about 25 per cent of the American population, the most under Murdoch's U.S. broadcast regulations.

SCREEN SAVERS

Video conferencing is quickly gaining popularity as a cheaper alternative to business travel, a new study shows. The study by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) surveyed 108 companies and government officials in Canada, the United States and Mexico and found that 52 per cent now use video-conferencing or plan to do so in the near future. Last year, the figure was 60 per cent.

SATELLITE SETBACK

The U.S. Federal Communications Commission turned down a bid by Telesat Canada and two U.S. partners to share satellite capacity and beam programming links both markets. The ruling is the latest setback for Canada's nascent direct-to-home satellite broadcasting industry, which is hampered by a shortage of satellite capacity. Telesat had hoped to solve the problem by sharing the cost of two new satellites with Tele-Communications Inc. of Denver and McDowell LLC of Stamford, Conn.



Zellers store in Toronto, who is responsible when children steal?

The price of shoplifting

A Manitoba judge has charged the country's largest discount department store chain for demanding restitution from the parents of people caught stealing from its stores. Justice Gerald Jermol of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench said in a written judgment that there is no "general rule that parents are liable" for offences committed by their children. As a result, he ruled in favour of a request by Zellers Inc. to collect \$225 from a

Winnipeg woman whose 16-year-old son was caught stealing \$69.95 worth of merchandise in May, 1995. Zellers, which operates 310 stores across Canada, introduced the late-recovery program in London, Ont., in 1993, extending it to the rest of the country last year. Company officials say it is designed to cover the cost of security and other expenses related to shoplifting enforcement.

In the Winnipeg case, the woman paid the money but then decided that she should not be held responsible for her son's actions. Her lawyer, Paul Walsh, said that in light of the ruling Zellers should now repay an estimated \$1 million collected from shoplifters or their parents over the past three years.

Zellers executives said they were reviewing their policy and had not decided whether to appeal the ruling. In Ontario alone, 10 other cases dealing with the restitution claims are before the courts. According to the Retail Council of Canada, store owners across the country have about \$1.5 billion in shoplifting.

LEARN TO LAUNCH

Auto talks begin

Representatives of the Big Three automakers sat down with their union counterparts to figure out what issues are critical to the next round of talks in their industry. Over the next two months, negotiators will debate such issues as job security, working conditions and the use of outside suppliers. But the two sides must also agree on the length of the new labour contracts. The Canadian Auto Workers union is pushing for one-year deals, while General Motors, Ford and Chrysler favor three-year agreements. Analysts say the union will likely insist GM for a strike after the Sept. 14 deadline for a settlement, since the relationship between GM and GMW president Buzz Hargrove is particularly rocky. Hargrove is taking off GM to reverse a decision to sell two Ontario plants that together employ about 2,500 workers. "We are not going to expect that they have the right to sell our jobs to the lowest bidder at a time when the company has been so incredibly successful," he said. Last year, GM's Canadian operations earned a record \$1.4 billion on revenues of \$29.7 billion.

Record trade surplus

A sharp increase in auto exports to the United States helped lift Canada's merchandise trade surplus to a record \$4.1 billion in May. The news was not all positive: even more for the record surplus is that consumer spending on manufactures is dropping, including imports, remains weak. But the strength of the exporting sector has all but eliminated Canada's debt-borrowing requirements, making possible last week's quarter-point reduction in the Bank of Canada rate, to 4.75 per cent.





Peter C. Newman

How a Vancouver summit fits Liberal strategies

In a society that has no resident monarchy, pope or spiritual leader, the national agenda is inevitably set by prime ministers. The current occupant of that office finds himself in unique circumstances. Unlike every PM since Maclean's King, who left office in 1968, Jean Chrétien has no rivals. The Tories and the NDP are dormant. Reform is impossible. The Bloc is treacherous.

Since he enjoys a free ride and will, unless something highly unexpected happens, be reelected with a majority in the election being planned for next year, Chrétien is slouching about, not doing much of anything, and doing it lazily. It's almost as if he was afflicted with Dorothy Fendley disease, a prime minister in robotic mode whose mandatory actions render him innocent of any action decisions made by his government, such as keeping the GST or resuscitating Shula Cages when there was a perfectly good opportunity to dump her.

His current state of automobile grace explains many things, including Chrétien's decision not to attend the recent AIDS conference. Why get locked in Vancouver when you can enjoy a family picnic in Stratford—and not hurt your reelection odds in the process?

But even perfids that assume they'll easily be returned to office need plans. The Liberal's new planetary strategy to wage their 2002 campaign on these priorities. The first will be based on the current studies of how to keep government programs viable so that Canada's demographically powerful seniors are encouraged to cost Liberal billions. A report of the parliamentary committee on the issue, headed by Winnipeg MP David Walker, was studied by Chrétien's cabinet earlier this month and will be presented to the full Liberal caucus in August.

The second set of initiatives will have to do with advancing the government's programs in deficit reduction, job creation, reform of unemployment insurance, protection of the health care system and rebuilding the social security system.

Not in the same populist category, but essential to the Chrétien economic package, will be a sustained campaign to foster the Liberal's accomplishments in boosting international business. The Team Canada trade crusades, based on a strategy worked out by Senator Jack Austin, who serves as chairman of the Canada-China Business Council, have proved successful beyond anyone's expectations. The Liberal's trade initiatives plank in the election platform will be based in part on Team Canada successes in China and Latin America, as well as the recent tour to Thailand, Korea and the Philippines, due to take off in January, 1997.

Much more significant will be the third priority, the steps Ottawa will take to prepare for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, to be held at Vancouver 36 months from now. APEC is the world's richest business club, encompassing as it does 18 of

the globe's most vibrant economies—the rampaging tigers and lions of the Asia Pacific basin. Established in 1989, the organization's annual meetings provide an essential forum as how the region can sustain its remarkable economic growth, lower trade barriers and fit in with other trading blocs.

An last prime minister, Chrétien will chair the Vancouver meetings, but in order to gain maximum political benefits from the event, the Liberals are about to declare 1997 "The year of Asia Pacific in Canada." Ottawa is quietly putting together a series of major events that will provide the Vancouver summit. Coordinated by Ian Edwards, a former Canadian ambassador to Korea, the agenda will be in with the overall theme of promoting the idea of Canada as a Pacific state: trade and openness to increase trade with its Pacific partners.

Events being planned for the next 18 months in conjunction with the next APEC conference include a national youth summit, a forum of small business owners in Ottawa, a forum on transportation in Victoria, a colloquium on the environment in Toronto, a top conference of Canadian and Asian CEOs (sponsored by the Business Council on National Issues) in Calgary, and an opening gala, organized by the Asia Pacific Foundation. The budget for these festivities, expected to run at about \$30 million, will be split between the public and private sectors, according to the model worked out for the G-7 gathering at Halifax, held in June of 1995. "These Pacific events will give Canadians the best chance yet, and for some time to come, to be plugged into the Asian marketplace, at many levels and in many occupations," says Bill Sawmill, president of the Asia Pacific Foundation.

More than 4,000 delegates will attend the Vancouver talks, which will include sessions of APEC's Business Advisory Council, a private sector group that advises on issues such as consumer issues, monetary policy, trade and investment, intellectual property protection of intellectual property rights. The Canadian wing of the council will be headed by Terry Han, the youthful CEO of Concord Pacific, the \$1-billion real estate developer of the former Expo 86 hotel, owned by the Li Ka-shing family of Hong Kong. Council members are Tan Joo, president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and Dorothy Biddle, a Vancouver management consultant who will represent the service industries and small- and medium-size business.

Recognizing ourselves as something more than a group of European colonies in a halfhearted landscape is a worthy and long-overdue concept. Most Canadians east of Sonora still believe we geographically live the Atlantic, and that Mexico is Canada's front door, while Japan lies at the far side of Europe. Few Canadians are aware of the fact that Japan—well, some of the other Asian nations—are our closest western neighbors. We are a Pacific country, and it's high time we started acting like one.

People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

MacIsaac's fancy footwork

Controversy is nothing new to 21-year-old Cape Breton Islander folk singer Ashley MacIsaac. Maybe it is his lightly dyed cropped hair or his punk presentation of traditional Celtic music. Whatever the reason, other folkies from the area have condemned his iconoclasm since. His tenor is still, having



MacIsaac: familiar with controversy

bought about 200,000 copies of his 1995 debut CD, *Hi, How Are You Today?* Last week, MacIsaac was another scuffle with folk purists. At the start of a U.S. tour, fellow singing act Nanci Griffith delivered a "like or no" ultimatum to The Chieftains Celtic band. "I wasn't pleasing her face, was the way she worded it," says MacIsaac of the American folk singer. The Chieftains sided with MacIsaac. Partly to appease his critics, MacIsaac released a new traditional fiddle album in June, called *Fine*. Thank You Very Much. "The proof is in the pudding, that I can still play the fiddle."



The 3 Canadians: We really want to be successful in our own country

Bringing home the laughs

Take four Canadians, put them on stage and let them improvise on any subject for ever, no limit. The result is *The 3 Canadians*, a comedy troupe described by one member as the Three Stooges on acid. "I have quite a cult following," says Calgary-based North Darling, 25, about the success he and his fellow troupe members—Eric Amher and Derek Hynes, also 25 and from Calgary, and Ray Gierrie, 38, of Vancouver—have enjoyed during the past year in Australia. "Because

our shows are different every time, people can return." The four comics started out as street performers and wound up Down Under, explains Darling, because of the weather. "You can't do much on a street corner when it's 40 below," he adds. Canadians will have a chance to discover the improv troupe's craziness firsthand as it tours the country this summer and fall. Says Darling, "Success in Australia is great, but we really want to be successful in our own country."

Naming Anonymous

When it appeared in January, the novel *Privacy Colors* was the American publishing event of the season. Its tale of political intrigue was widely viewed as a thinly disguised account of Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign. Even more surprising was the fact that its author was Anonymous, promising curiosity about who could have written such an uncanny—and astonishing—

portrait of the President and the Washington press corps. Last week, Newseum columnist Joe Klein—who had repeatedly denied authorship—admitted that he was, in fact, Anonymous. While that ended speculation about the author's identity, it fueled controversy about Klein's tale. The journalist, however, was unapologetic. "It wasn't my," he said, "but I felt that there was truth when I've had to lie to protect a source, and I put this in that category."

The 'Scud stud' gets even

Being known as the "Scud stud" does have some entertainment value, says Arthur Kent, but the journalist questions that is about all. Kent, 42, who earned the moniker for his good looks and calm reporting during Iraq Scud missile attacks in the 1991 Gulf War, will release his first book, *Red and Blue*, in September. Kent, from Medicine Hat, Alta., writes about his career as a foreign correspon-



dent covering the world's hot spots. But his biggest personal battle was with New York City-based NBC, which fired him after he requested reassignment from the newsmagazine show *Outside* NBC. In his book, Kent, who self-identifies as a huge selfless from NBC, attacks the TV network for its "lousy approach" to journalism. Says Kent, now a London-based CNN correspondent: "The book tells the story."

Kent taking issue with network journalism

ON THE GO FOR GOLD

BY JAMES DEACON

It was a spectacle that combined artistry with fireworks, designed to dazzle as well as pluck at heartstrings. The opening ceremonies of the Centennial Olympic Games in Atlanta last week were almost 4 1/2 hours long—but surprisingly short on high-tech wizardry. Instead, the stadium was filled with streams of flame and the fluttering wings of giant, glimmering butterflies, while dancers cut silhouettes of athletes on the walls of a stylized white-cloth Greek temple. The competitors were there, too, from the lone athlete marching for Lebanon to an American contingent more than 600 strong. Middle-distance runner Charmaine Crooks carried the flag for the 300-member Canadian team. The emotional high point, however, belonged to athletes who years ago bowed out of the ring. Boxing legend Muhammad Ali, his left arm shaking from the debilitating effects of Parkinson's disease, held aloft the Olympic torch and then lit the flame symbolizing the ancient spirit of the Games. "It seems so exciting, everything going on, the fireworks, the whole show," said Michael Jerromsmith, a spectator from South Carolina among the 60,000-wrong audience at the opening. "It's a historic event—you think you're never going to forget this for the rest of your life."

At last, the Olympic Games ignited—slowly, miserably, as if from a slow-burning fuse that, for a time, seemed always at

Canadian competitors on parade in the opening show (below), dance



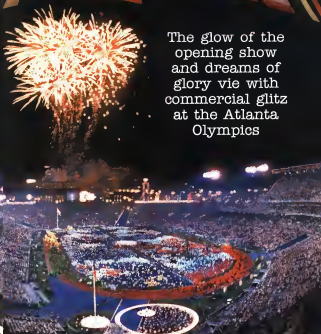
the verge of flaking. The opener held the spectators spellbound and revved up the athletes. Atlanta put on its cheeriest "How y'all doin'?" smile, puffing with southern pride. The stage

was set for the medal hunt in the first full week, including "Super Saturday" on July 27 when Canadian rowers and cyclists carry the nation's hopes on their robust shoulders. But it was clear last week that, despite years of preparation, the hosts were not ready. Chief among the problems for both competitors and spectators: too little crowd control, smugness, cronyism, security, accreditation. The list goes on, and it does not even include the oppressive heat (page 40). The swelter may have been at least partly to blame for two heart attacks, one of them fatal, during the opening ceremonies. These accidents and the organ-

• The biggest Olympic Games ever held: just another way with hopes and dreams

national bustles eventually ceded the spotlight to the Games themselves and to the stars of the show—the athletes. Sean, Canadian swimmer Joanne Malar among them, got off to early starts on the first day of competition. After so much buildup, the Olympics had finally begun. The early action produced both star performances and protests. Belgian swimmer Frederik Deburghgraeve set the first world record of the Games in the 100-m freestyle stroke. A defending Olympic judo champion from former Soviet Georgia lost his way and missed his contest. A Chinese marksman, defending the championship in his event, collapsed and had to be carried away after narrowly missing victory when his final shot went off target. The worst helped the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games

The glow of the opening show and dreams of glory vie with commercial glitz at the Atlanta Olympics



forgot a bad week. Beneath the gloss of the opening ceremonies and the luscious lighting of the sponsors' boxes, there was confusion for the people who actually work at the Games. Officials, athletes and news media armed in Georgia in their time of dissonance to find that many essential services were either unfurnished, unreliable or unavailable. The Olympic bus system rarely ran on time. Security bottlenecks stalled crowds in the heat. The Canadian rowing team, trying to get to the Olympic Village from the rowing venue in Garmersville, 80 km northwest of Atlanta, walked 20 minutes for a bus. When it did arrive, there was such a crush of people that some team members did not get on. Caught up in a large and determined group, single-sculler Silken Laumann was one of the few Canadians to make it on. "I was squashed between a lot of Italians," she said with a laugh, "and somehow I got loaded on the bus."

Other shortcomings were equally trying. Some of the 197 national delegations and 14,500 accredited media lacked functioning telephones and computer systems right to the eve of the Games—ironic, considering that major telecommunications companies and the world's largest computer firm are sponsors of the Atlanta Olympic. The main accreditation centre at Hartsfield International Airport was thrown into chaos one day when the computerized registration system went down. And the computer-e-mail and information systems crashed so frequently that organizers scrambled late last week to make repairs.

Atlanta Olympic committee's worst failing, according to some senior officials, was that it devoted too much effort to servicing its many sponsors, and not enough to managing noncommercial duties. ACOG chief Billy Payne decries the claim and no high-ranking official would go on the record, but one International Olympic Committee official was clearly exasperated, fuming: "I don't think there is one person on this organizing committee who knows the first thing about sport; I don't think they even can."

Canada's athletes kept any complaints to themselves. Springboard diver and first-time Olympian Anne Peltier, despite a B-12-hour accreditation wait for a photo of her before 36 hours, took Atlanta in stride. "You have to expect this and you have to live with it," the 23-year-old Montrealer said. "You have to think positive—it's not good for me to get frustrated at the beginning of the Games."

In fact, as the worst week on

venue seemed to get caught up in the Olympic spirit—or, at least, in the pervasive party atmosphere. School teacher and sports bus driver Warner from Toronto—a city chosen as Atlanta in bidding to host the 1996 Games—had such a good time partying with four bad-drummers that he lamented: "If the Aids in Toronto got the Games?" Still, some Atlantans were clearly wishing Toronto had. For one local woman on a jammed subway car, the crushing rush-hour crowds were just too much.

"Why don't all you people go back where you came from?" she decided to say in particular. "You're all just visiting, but we gotta live here—this is our town."

Even the smooth machinery of corporate America hit snags. The first privately funded Olympics in history—a fact that Americans are proud to point out—was a take-no-prisoners commercial brawl. Centennial Olympic Park, in the heart of downtown, is a veritable theme park for consumerism, where such official Olympic sponsors as Reebok, Seach and Coca-Cola have their high-priced shops and corporate information booths. But on the skyline just beyond the park's gates lurk the logos of so-called ambush marketers—companies such as shoe giant Nike, which have not paid a sponsorship fee to the Games, but hope to cash in anyway. Montrealer David Poudel, the IOC vice-president who ran the committee's marketing arm, was blunt in his criticism of such tactics. "It is unethical and unacceptable," said Poudel. "If we don't stop it, it will diminish the value of Olympic sponsorship in the future."

As the Games approached, however, Olympic organizers had other pressing concerns—mainly, keeping

The reward is getting a chance to compete against the world's best



Atlanta Olympic committee's worst failing, according to some senior officials, was that it devoted too much effort to servicing its many sponsors, and not enough to managing noncommercial duties.



Optimist Svetlana Bogalshova of Belarus undergoes handprint check intense security



Belgium's Debruyckere setting first world record of Atlanta Games: diarrhea

athletes, officials and spectators safe in the city with the highest crime rate in the United States. Atlanta has become home to an unprecedented mix of law enforcement agencies. Beyond the nearly 1,100 Atlanta police, there are a roughly equal number of Georgia state officers and an ACOG-led security staff of almost 2,700. Then, there are 14,000 national guard and federal army troops. A force of 13,000 Georgia police officers, including several Canadians, also contribute to the security presence, including guard sports venues in central Atlanta. And just off of them lie B. By coincidence, some 150 international volunteer officers—most of whom took vacations late to work at the Games—packed up and left. Their companies had job postings, law security measures and even a housing in one of Atlanta's most dangerous neighborhoods. Their three windows reportedly straddled in a drive-by shooting. "The buzzword in security is 'vandalism,'" screaming packages and vehicles for bombs and weapons. At entrances to public buildings and Olympic sites, luggage, bags and photo equipment are put through X-ray machines, and visitors must walk through metal detectors. Security staffers in parking garages intercept cars, vans and army personnel inspect cars closely. The army, too, was involved in contingency planning—that is, preparing for the worst. Said spokesman Sgt.-Maj. Daniel Coker: "We're taking away anything from a thunderstorm to a hurricane, to heat stroke, sunstroke, food poisoning or a terrorist threat."

After the crash of a TWA jet off Long Island, N.Y., two nights before the Olympics opened, and suspicion about the cause, terrorism seemed a very real threat in Atlanta. But ACOG president Payne declared in his speech on any connection between the expected looting and the Olympics. And although security was heightened at the airport, city officials seemed confident that no such measures in the Olympic Ring were adequate. "You can do as much as you can, because otherwise you become a prisoner of terrorism," Mayor Bill Campbell said, "and people will not even be able to enjoy the presentation of these athletes, who have been working their entire lives for this moment in the sun."

The tightest security protects the competitors housed in the

pool, where 30 at most quarters could take medals in Atlanta. "There are a ton of great swimmers out there," says Wisconsin's Shannon Shalowsky, who finished 17th in the 100m freestyle. "It's an accomplishment just to make the final."

The choice of the personable Crooks to carry the Canadian flag was largely popular among her teammates, and it provided a counterpoint in the debate that followed comments attributed to sprint star Dennis Blakey, who, incidentally, was 30 years old. Crooks is an athlete, consistently ranked 800 in runner who, like Blakey, was born in Jamaica, and who moved to Canada with her parents when she was six years old. Chief de mission Michael Chambers said Blakey's that he and two other senior COA officials decided two months ago to have Crooks as the Olympic torchbearer. "We looked at both her personal accomplishments and sports CV and we were unanimous," Chambers said. "She is an exemplary athlete and an exemplary Canadian."

Following the announcement, the 30-year-old North Vancouver resident said her appointment was both an honor and a responsibility. "I'm carrying this flag for all of Canada and for all my teammates who worked so hard to get here," she said. "It feels like this is the message to kids that, hey, it doesn't matter what color your skin is, where you came from, what language you speak. You can do whatever you want in Canada if you put your mind to it."

Despite the politics and organizational difficulties of the Games, the competitors can be pure magic, especially for the Olympians. Atlanta offers a marvellous opportunity for athletes from every country on earth to measure themselves against the very best. The challenge is both daunting and exhilarating. "You know," says Anne Peltier, "every time I wake up in the morning here, I say to myself, 'I am at the Olympic Games.'" More than the clamor at the opening ceremonies, her wise remark was the wonder of it all.

WILL JOE CHENKLE and JAMES HANSEN in Atlanta

Resurrecting The Racism Row

A three-letter word revived the old debate about overt racism in Canada and in Canadian sports last week. At the centre of the latest chapter: Canadian sprinter Donovan Bailey who, in an interview with a Montreal writer, is supposed to have said that Canada "is an blatantly racist as the United States." Absolutely not so, retorted Bailey from Texas, where he was training for Saturday's 100-m dash in Atlanta. "What I said was, Canada is not as blatantly racist as the U.S., but it does exist." Besides, he added, what really mattered was getting ready for the glamer event at the Olympics in which he, the world champion, is favoured to win a medal.

The Guelville, Ont., runner's comments appeared in a Sports Illustrated article by Michael Farber. At one point in the interview, disintegrated seven months ago, the two men talked about how Ben Johnson's Jamaican birth became a focus for many Canadians upset by his disqualification for steroid use at the 1988 Seoul Olympics. "Canada is an blatantly racist as the United States," Farber quotes Bailey as saying. "We know it exists. People who don't appear to be Canadian people of color—don't get the same treatment."

Last week, Bailey told *The Toronto Star* that he had been misquoted. "Look at the context," Bailey said. "I'm supposed to have said it's blatant and then I go on to say, 'we know it exists.' That doesn't really make any sense." Farber, who initially claimed that he "took careful notes," later conceded that he and Bailey have been misquoted.

In the *Star* interview, Bailey elaborated on his conversation with Farber. "The only thing that was wrong about '88 was Ben took drugs," the 28-year-old said. "The fact that he was Jamaican should have nothing to do with it. When [now] I'm 30, Ben [Laurance] tested positive [for a cold virus] at the 1990 Pan-Am Games, [and] they didn't bring up his European heritage." If a black runner tested positive, Bailey added, "would he be forgiven as quickly as he was?"

Reaction in Canada to Bailey's comments ranged from sympathy to criticism. Rosemary Brown, the Jamaican-born former chairwoman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, was inclined to believe the runner's disclaimer. "I don't believe that anyone conscious of racism in Canada as being as blatant as it is the United States. The United States has a history of racism entrenched in law and that's not the experience we have had here." Yet as she listened to the news about Bailey, she said, "I got a real sense of hurt that he would have gone outside Canada to make comments like that, even more so than with the context of what he said."



● Bailey (left) and Ben Johnson racing at the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. Bailey is wearing a white singlet with 'Canada' on it.

Canada's Bailey sets off a new controversy

In Winnipeg, lawyer Lyle Stourin, president of *Black British's* League for Human Rights, said he agreed that Bailey's remarks are an alien background. "As in the case of Ben Johnson, we tend to ask questions like 'they're not pure' Canadians, but I don't think it's a question of race, I think it's a question of origin," Stourin said. At the same time, he added, "Canada is nearly as blatantly racist as the United States. We're not anti-black necessarily, but we're anti in other countries."

If Farber had accurately reported Bailey's remarks, said black Toronto freelance writer Donna Nurse, then the sprinter "showed poor judgment, not to mention an unacceptable spirit, particularly since Canada seems to be supporting him in a big way." Jack Thomas, general manager of the NBD's Toronto Raptors, was diplomatic. "From what I've seen in the United States and just from the little bit I've seen in Canada, I guess you can say racism exists everywhere."

In Ottawa, Heritage Minister Sheila Copps said the comments attributed to Bailey "are a little strong." "I don't think it's a question of race," she said, when she was talking about it. "I don't know who is that person. I just say that we're fighting racism all the time."

A stout defender of Canada in the face of Bailey's quoted statement was Sylvia Swenney, Canada's assistant chief of mission in Atlanta. "I can't dispute his personal experience, but I do dispute blatant statements about our country," said the former national basketball team player and two-time Olympian. "In Canada, we're not living in the same reality as the Americans."

RAE CORRELL

Ben Johnson's fall from grace in the 1988 Olympic Games touched off a national outpouring of abuse and criticism. But the remark that stung the most was one made by the U.S. Sports Minister Pierre Collet in 1985, after the runner was caught for a second time using a banned substance. Having served a two-year suspension, Johnson had attempted a comeback without drugs, but failed even to qualify for the 1986 final at the 1986 Games in Barcelona. Then, in January, 1989, he was found to have excessive levels of testosterone after a Montreal test, and was banned for life. And the cacophony of criticism, the Tory minister's reaction stood out. Johnson, Collet said, had become a disgrace to Canada's home since 1970 and should consider going back to Jamaica, his birthplace. That, the former runner recalls, was "by far the most disgusting comment I have ever heard."

Johnson's remarks seem particularly poignant in light of last week's controversy over comments about racism, and Johnson's treatment by Canadians, by another Jamaican-born Canadian sprinter, Donovan Bailey. Now 34 and running a house-building and renovation company in the Toronto area, Johnson took part in a rare, three-hour conversation about his private life and his feelings last December, during a visit to Montreal. He spoke of having lost most of his friends after the Seoul incident, about running that race even though he knew he would test positive for the banned anabolic steroid stanozolol, and about his certainty that everyone else in that race was using performance-enhancers. He also said he had no intention of watching the Atlanta Games on television. "All I did is behind the new," he insisted.

Johnson lives in Newmarket, Ont., north of Toronto, with his mother, sister, niece and nephew. He generally shares the press because "journalists are barbers," he said. "No one else notices me except my family, and that's the way I want to live it." He spends his working days checking with suppliers and talking to potential buyers of his house. "I appreciate the workers and meet with clients," he said. "That's what I do." With his friends, he says, he is a grillmaster, he said he was spending most of his free time working at Toronto's Work House, or watching videos at home—he has more than 1,000, "especially action movies." Relationships outside his family are filled with contrast. "Everybody wants something from me," he complained. "Like thieves, they rob and leave."

Incredibly, Johnson does not look at Seoul as a humiliation, but

"I was disqualified, but one fact remains: I was the fastest"

Ben Johnson on the Record



● Johnson is last most of his friends after the 1988 Games

as his moment of triumph. "No one ever ran the 100m in 9.79 seconds like I did in Seoul. No one. And below me, it's going to take years, if not centuries, before it can happen again. I am the fastest man in history!" There is no sign of remorse. "Yes, I was taking steroids," he said, "but so was everyone else on the starting line that day [an accusation that U.S. sprinter Carl Lewis, for one, who was awarded the gold after Johnson's disqualification, vehemently denies]. There were no tricks. Good for them if I was the only one disqualified, but one fact remains: I was the fastest."

In Seoul, Johnson realized he had not stopped injecting anabolic steroid soon enough to avoid detection after the race. "Two days before the race, I knew I would test positive," he said. "But I couldn't go back. The world was waiting for that race. Although I had to forget about a medal, I wanted to prove to myself and to others that I was the fastest." He also maintained that he could have been even faster, if he had not pointed a finger in the sky in victory just before the finish line. "I would have finished the race in 9.72 seconds if I hadn't lifted my arm, but I couldn't help it," he said. "It was the greatest moment of my life."

And the blazest turning point. According to Johnson, the disqualification cost him \$35 million in lost promotional contracts, mostly from car and shoe companies. "Money, I can make in other ways," he said. "I'm known across the world. There are still posters of me hanging on the walls of many houses in Italy, for example. It's the same in Africa, like in Zimbabwe, where I've been." Besides, he was already practically a millionaire, he said, as a result of establishing a world mark of 9.88 seconds in Rome in August, 1987. "In those days, I was even able to get paid for the interviews I gave," he recalled. "I was in my house, it was double the price."

His only regret appears to be over his attempt to return to competition in 1991 without drugs. "I wanted to prove the impossible," he said. "That I could win by doing the opposite of everyone else—stealing clean. I convinced myself. It was stupid." And Ben Johnson, former world-dominant runner, is now Ben Johnson, building contractor. An employer who, like others, waits for the economy to pick up and for consumers to start spending again—this boy has business. But he appears paid. "I took me \$79 seconds to make my mark on the world," he said. "In business, it will take me a little longer."

SYLVAIN BLANCHARD is in Montreal

On the morning of Sunday, Aug. 4, when 5,000 of runners set out to cover more than 41 km through Atlanta and its environs, weather conditions, to put it mildly, are likely to be difficult. At 7 a.m.—when the men's marathon starts—temperatures in Atlanta in August are often already above 30°C, with humidity at an eye-opening 80 per cent. To protect runners in conditions that could cause an athlete to collapse, or even die, the Atlanta Games organizers have taken unusual precautions. Seven ambulances staffed by multi-lingual physicians and nurses and five ambulances will be stationed along the marathon route. And radio-equipped nurses will be posted every 2.5 km along the way to watch for runners who show signs of faltering. Strikingly colorful armchairs are also widespread at the Atlanta Olympics, where, for many athletes, heat and humidity may prove harder to beat than their human rivals.

"Heat," said Dr. Howard Wiseman, a physician at the University of Toronto's sports medicine clinic, "is probably the issue of the Atlanta Games."

The Atlanta Games may be the hottest in Olympic history, climatically speaking. In recent decades, Atlanta's high during the Games' period have averaged 33°C—and have sometimes soared above 40°C. Athletes exposed to Atlanta's heat for prolonged periods—distance runners, swimmers, soccer players and pentathletes, among others—are likely to be the most vulnerable. Experts predicted that suffering conditions could lower performance levels and lower athletes from countries with hot climates. The biggest concern is that athletes—and spectators—who neglect the critically important job of replenishing their fluid levels will succumb to heat exhaustion or heat stroke.

Canada's Graham Hood, scheduled to run in the 1,500m event in Atlanta, knows how debilitating heat can be. As a student at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville between 1990 and 1995, he competed in grueling conditions. "Even when you're not competing," said the Burlington, Ont., athlete, "just being in that kind of heat can drain you."

Acclimatization is important, which is why many of Canada's Olympians arrived in Atlanta early, or spent time training in northern U.S. locales with similar temperatures. Canada's highly rated rowing team, headed for Miami on July 31, "We've been holding tutorials on the heat," said the team's head coach, Brian Richardson of Victoria, "and stressing the need to drink lots of water to keep us hydrated as possible." Athletes and spectators who are overcome by the heat can expect to receive special assistance: medical services at the Atlanta Games include 39 ambulances, hundreds of doctors and nurses, roving teams of medical volun-



● Sweetening athletes trying to keep cool 'heat is probably the issue of the Atlanta Games'

Heat That Can Kill

Roadside medical teams will watch for athletes in distress

teers, scores of on-site medical stations and arrangements with 14 Atlanta area hospitals that will be in to handle casualties.

Atlanta's heat was certain to claim casualties. The human body is equipped with an intricate regulatory system designed to keep the body at a steady 37°C temperature. But extreme conditions, including strenuous exercise, can short-circuit the system. The reason: only about 25 per cent of an athlete's energy output translates into physical effort. The rest generates heat, which—along with air temperature and sunlight—can put pressure on the body's regulatory operations. Normally, the body sheds excess heat, mainly by perspiring, which helps cool the body in heat. But when sweat evaporation is blocked, the body's temperature can rise.

When core temperature is significantly above normal for more than a few minutes, the metabolic rate increases and the electrochemical signals controlling cell function begin to falter. As the core temperature rises above 37°C, heat exhaustion can occur. Sweating profusely, the victim may become nauseated and experience muscle cramps. If the core temperature is above 40°C, the results can be much more serious. "These starts to look like convulsions," said Dr. Jack Tassinari, co-director of the University of British Columbia's sports medicine centre in Vancouver. "The body's vital systems begin to go awry." The result can be heat stroke: the victim stops perspiring, delirium can set in and stroke, hemorrhaging and heart failure can occur.

Part of the problem is that participants at the Atlanta Games may not realize that dehydrating can set in even when they are inactive. "In heat like Atlanta's," said Dave Johnson, head coach of the Canadian swimming team, "just sitting in the stands waiting to compete can drain you." While athletes will clearly be at risk, they at least have the advantage of being in control of physical conditions—unlike those of the estimated 1.4 million spectators expected at the Games "just by being there," said Tassinari, "some are likely to suffer heat cramps and heat exhaustion." All of which suggests that the teams of doctors, nurses and paramedics standing by for the Atlanta Olympics may be in for a busy time.

MARK NEWBOLD

Media Watch



George Bain What did the media know, and when?

The news coverage of the Airbus company's supposed open-ended gratitude to people who help sell its airplanes, and of Brian Mulroney among the Canadian government, and the RCMP for having named him as a beneficiary of it, has been more remarkable for what it hasn't told us than what it has. In the Mulroney years, at least from 1986 on—years of scandal in government, real and imagined, were running out of Ottawa like offerings from the Book-of-the-Month Club. What we call investigative journalism was having its greatest days.

Now, with a story in plain view that has the potential to become the darkest political scandal of at least the half-century, it seems that all those investigations have been resigned, reprogrammed, or retired. Notwithstanding the number of unanswered questions, and questionable answers, that cling to the government's written accusations against the former prime minister, the old crusade in behalf of the right of the public to know has dimed.

What is to be seen instead is an incertitude of an unusual sort that seems to say, "We've heard the indictment, why muddy the waters with a lot of incidental contributions?" Consider, for example, the recent decision of Justice Binnie Weir of the Federal Court on the request by the justice department to Swiss authorities to permit the RCMP to look into bank accounts for evidence. The police hope to find three reports of its concealment of Canadian having received payments indirectly from Airbus for services rendered.

In five out of five newspapers and one magazine—this one—the reporting of the decision led with the RCMP's investigation having been blocked or derailed. The heading over the brief story in *Maclean's* said just that: "Blocking the RCMP's investigation." As blocking and derailing are premeditated acts, the same kind of incident of those reports was to suggest something done to our innocent Mulroney, an unthinkable obstacle had been put in the path of justice. Oh, yes, oh, shame.

However, the real story was not half so much any incertitude to the RCMP as it was an affirmation of a Canadian constitutional right of privacy not to be thought of as confined within our national borders. No wonder that. The justice department had quickly issued in its letter to Swiss authorities that the necessity, in Canada, of police obtaining the consent of a court before plunging into bank accounts did not extend abroad. Justice Weir said otherwise.

In any case, the RCMP's investigation isn't blocked—not yet, as the decision is to be appealed. Now, necessarily, will it be then, unless the police and justice have no case at all except in what they hope to find in a couple of bank accounts that belong to

they know just whom to borrow a literary-sounding phrase).

Neither at three reasons to believe the government or police were patently upset to think of delay in the Mulroney trial suits coming to trial. Months earlier, they had expressed a preference for its not coming to court at all this year, or perhaps ever.

Something else to be considered in the context of curiously incertitude journalism in the face of a big political story is the spin that has been put upon certain points. For instance, it has been repeatedly said, as background in ongoing stories, that Canadians suddenly became aware of the Airbus affair in its present form when *The Financial Post* carried a story based upon what must be referred to now as *The Letter*.

The Letter, as presented in the *Post*, quoted from an unofficial version of the original, named Brian Mulroney as having received money by an indirect route from Airbus for assistance in selling aircraft to Air Canada. It asked the Swiss for help—not to put two lines on point in it—pertaining him and others in jail. Brian Mulroney's notice of a suit for libel against the government coincided.

But that was not the beginning. Knowledge that a letter had come from Ottawa to Switzerland about Airbus, Kickbacks and bank accounts was around for at least a week or 10 days before that. No names were published as breaking, but that was not because none were known. Rather, it seems to have been because the large media organizations that had them were being cautious about libel.

The National, an CBC, makes an example. As the story said just that Canadian were involved. A second, a night or so later, mentioned Canadian political figures. A third, just before *The Financial Post* went the rest of the way, referred that to a Canadian political leader. Again, no name. But, as if by accident, the close steward who had not yet guessed was given a strong hint with a libelous of Mulroney appearing in a magazine in the background.

Consequently, notwithstanding there being been no names named, the material on which the former prime minister's libel suit is based was in the public domain, journalists, who are public, knew about it. That it was not secure in the hands of the justice department and the RCMP.

It is reasonable to assume that someone, perhaps a reporter with good connections in one or both of those places, received a private briefing and both made personal use of the information and passed it on in an outline to others to raise the story's news value and to strengthen its authority.

Exclusive stories at times can be too exclusive. In this instance, the exploitation of apparent incertitude in the media may not be incertitude at all. Rather, it may be that, because of where their information came from and their constraints not to tell, the reporters simply cannot give it to us.



Stomp performers making music from trash cans, lighters, axes and drums

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

They are the first to admit they play garbage. They bang trash cans and hubcaps. They break rhythms across the stage with brooms. They do a thundering tap dance with oil drums strapped to their backs, and create quirky shuffles with Zippo lighters, rattling metal boxes and plastic bags. They play everything including the kitchen sink. Even like a score drum in a marching band. Stomp has become a household name by beating household objects. With its raucous mix of music, dance and slapstick percussion, it has grown from a fringe troupe of British bluesies into a hugely successful liveforce. It has made TV commercials for Coca-Cola and Heineken. And it has toured more 50 North American cities, including Vancouver and Toronto, where it has packed the 1,500-seat Elgin Theatre for three months and grossed more than \$4 million. Another Stomp company has been playing New York City since

1994, and a third troupe is touring South America. Those without words and music without instruments, Stomp has tapped into the simple but universal appeal of beating on things. As Peter Wilkins, one of the original British cast members, puts out: "Rhythm is the language of the world—there's nothing to understand."

But Stomp is just the most visible example of a much broader phenomenon: the boom, so to speak, in percussion. The evidence is everywhere—from the late street music being played a garden beside an office tower to the carnival of drummers who ushered in the Olympic Games last week with a percussive extravaganza. Each Sunday in Montreal, a huge throng gathers at the base of Mount Royal for a massive drumming jam—smaller-scale jams occur each weekend in Vancouver and Toronto parks. And last week, during Newfoundland's Memorial Sound Symposium, Grenada drummer Alvin St. John Doolis and his group had the narrow of St. John's harbor echoing with African rhythms.

In a wired world, where communication has been reduced to the sizzling cadence of the computer keyboard, there is a spiritual revival of drum culture—the original Internet. Among North American tribes, people, drum groups are proliferating. And, while rekindling a sacred tradition, they are also reaching a global audience—not many members of the Toronto-based First Nations Drum and Dance Troupe will be performing in Cologne, Germany.

The coexistence drum circle, meanwhile, has become the Nineties answer to the Stevie Nicks happening. And its devotees range from New Age brokers to executives trying to beat some harmony into the miles of tape corporations. "You're seeking a grassroots phenomenon," Mickey Hart, former drummer for the Grateful Dead, told Madonna's last week. "Non-creations are taking up drums for fun, but also for power—to contact their inner selves." Hart has championed world percussion, with such CD compilations as *Planet Drum* and helped compose the piece for the Olympics

in Atlanta. He also founded Rhythm for Life, an organization of music drum plans who use drumming as an alternative therapy for various ailments, including Alzheimer's disease. "Rhythm," says Hart, "is the one common denominator we have. We're rhythm animals." In music stores, drum departments are now stacked with exotic hand drums—East Indian tablas, African dumbeks, talking drums, Turkish darbukkas, caribbean frame drums. Over the past decade, sales of such instruments have increased fourfold, says retailer Doug Sale, who recently left his job at a Toronto drum shop to set up a competing store called Soul Drum. Sale's clients are not just musicians. They are therapists, men's movement gurus, women's groups, and even corporate owners and shakers—recently Sale animated a drum circle of about 30 Seattle-based tech managers in a Toronto hotel as part of a leadership training program.

In California, which always seems a beat or two ahead of the herd, corporate drum therapy is all the rage. Last week in Santa Cruz, 6,000 employees of Silicon Graphics, a computer firm, gathered in an amphitheatre to beat on plastic tubes called boomwhackers. Conducting the session was Arthur Hak, a Stanford Collaborator who calls himself "a rhythm evangelist." Hak's roster of corporate clients ranges from Apple Computer to Levi Strauss. "My corporate work is what the media usually grabs onto—hey, there's a guy working with bells," he says. "But I also work with executives, schools, kids at risk. And gangs. I did a Drums Not Guns program in Dallas." Adds Hak, "A lot of people believe that they're rhythm folks, that they're rhythmically challenged. But in a drum circle you don't need expertise. The bottom line is the spirit."

While the electric guitar launched the Sixties revolution, the drum has since moved to the fore and become a talisman for a new Beat Generation. Jamaica rapper first stitched the compass in Africa in the 1970s. Then, rock stars such as David Byrne, Peter Dinklage and Paul Simon helped turn the West coast what would be

labeled world music. Now, in the global village of the Nineties, the magisters of rhythm know no bounds.

Appearing at last month's Edmonton Folk Festival, for example, in Toronto, a Montreal group that plays authentic West African music and won this year's best of best global music album. Its six members include Canadian and African-born musicians, black and white, male and female—and they are led by a white, drummer, Francine Martel, a Quebec woman who studied for years with a drum master in the Ivory Coast.

But some musicians go out of their way to render traditional drum cultures intact, others treat the world as their mixing

kid can play a Latin or African rhythm without being a master."

While it is true that anyone can beat a drum, or clap, or rattle, percussion still has its virtues. And five of them—Bob Dole or William Cahn, Robin Engstrom, Russell Hartenberger and John Wynn—made up the internationally acclaimed Tumbao ensemble called Nones, which celebrated its 25th anniversary this year. All were classically trained musicians who have served as soloists with major symphony orchestras that Nones was exploring world music because the term was coined. And its repertoire spans African drumming, Indian tabla, ragtime xylophone and calypso—tense with such contemporary composers as John Cage and Terry Riley.

Touring the world, Nones has served as a kind of rhythm switchboard, inspiring the formation of similar groups. In cities as far-flung as Budapest and São Paulo "What Nones has done," says Salvador Ferrera, a prominent Vancouver percussionist, "is name a brand new generation of percussionists that very comfortably walks the line between classical and world music."

At a sheer anniversary concert in Toronto, Nones has modestly surrendered the spotlight to seven guest artists. On one end of the stage, Tricky Sankaran, who teaches Indian music at Toronto's York University, plays a skin tambourine. With lightning speed, his fingers create intricate rhythms of intricate patterns that sound like celestial abstraction. Across the stage, Abraham Adomah, a master drummer from Ghana who teaches at Concordia's Wesleyan University, attacks a gong drum with an accelerating, but ever-simplifying, pulse that seems to rise right

out of the North. Between them, Nones plays along, looking as pleased as monks who have struck a unison chord.

After the gig, John Wynn retreats to his bower in the woods, about 150 km north of Toronto. The reduction of the house is circular, like a drum—a white geodesic dome filled with hundreds of percussion instruments from around the world. Like his fellow Nones members, Wynn grew up



Wynn: a rhythm switchboard linking classical and world music

best to connect cyber-Rhythms. Nightclubs are vinting to hybrid strains of industrial music called "trip hop" and "jangle," dance beats dense with uprooted African and Latin rhythms. "Drums are like guitars used to be," says Toronto drummer and record producer Billy Bryson. "Everyone can play them a little bit. And now with the use of drum machines and digital samplers, any 14-year-old

MUSIC

in the United States. As a child in Philadelphia, he recalls, "I was a tapper. I got in trouble at school for taking the bobby pins out of the girl's hair in front of me and placing them. I'd throw a ruler on the edge of the desk to get a bass line."

Wyrse, who went from rock bands to music school to orchestral work, met his future Naxos colleagues on the symphony circuit. They ended up in Toronto, he says, partly because it was "a talented environment for a gathering of different cultures." Naxos began as an improvisational ensemble. "We didn't think about what we were doing. We just allowed ourselves to follow the music."

It taught us to listen."

As world music chairman for the international Percussion Arts Society, Wyrse is one of percussion's elders. But he displays no snobbery towards the drum-circle fad. "Naxos is a drum circle in a sense," he says. "We've been doing this all our lives. But the 40-year-old executive who is fired or gets up with his wife and ends up in one of Robert Rly's drum circles is simply trying to find himself. And that's great."

Rly, the American men's movement guru, has embraced drumming as a way to recover lost childhood. In most traditional African and native cultures, drums have

been played exclusively by men. But now women are breaking that taboo. And gender certainly does not stop Zakoula's Francine Maré from cooping a thunderous range of tones from her African djembe. "It's a bit like a natural art," she explains. "I'm physically small, but my drum master taught me the right technique. We learned to play from my elbows down."

For some women, drumming serves as a source of empowerment. Helen Zador, a former Bell Canada manager in Toronto, was referred to drum teacher Doug Sole by her therapist Gary Douglas four years ago. Drumming, she says, helped her recover from a history of abuse, which includes a violent gang rape in her 20s. "At first just looking at the drums aroused a fear," Zador recalls. "They're phallic in shape, especially the African drums, and the sound is primal, deep in your body." Her first attempt to play induced her to tears. "When I started drumming, I felt threatened. It would bring back body memories." But confronting her fear helped her overcome it. Now, the work as a massage therapist—at a massage table surrounded by percussion instruments.

Whether through therapy or music, drums are circling back to one of their traditional roles—as medicine. For native peoples, the drum has a sacred healing power and must be treated with reverence. Jerry Alfred, a Tutchuone Indian, leads a Tutchuone band called The Medicine Bear, which won this year's Juno for best aboriginal recording. The group has no drum kit. Replacing the foot pedal thing of a standard brass drum is the self-struck beat of a frame drum, handmade from goat and maple. "It represents the heartbeat," says Alfred. "The drum is alive. You have to respect it and treat it like a person."

But some drums are more sacred than others. Toronto percussionist Dennis Greene Karkland spent a recent evening drumming on two plastic tubs and a metal can in the street. Karkland is a respected studio drummer, but it isn't time to play before, he says. "It's more intense." Like Stomp, he raises spirits from recycled junk, the dead side shell by technology. In a similar vein, a Toronto troupe called The Suburban Wreck has built a percussion "orchestra" from garbage, made up of everything from lawn chairs to a car, to bicycle bells and metal milk drums. Towed by a motorcycle, the contraption can be played by anyone who gets the urge. On a recent Sunday, a crowd of kids watched over it and banged merrily away as the Wreck paraded through a Toronto housing project. "It's Sassa says Dr. Sena," says Wreck's leader Peter Jarvis. "In Africa, they make instruments from gourds, hollow things lying around. In our culture the things lying around happen to be Evans speakers, carpet spools and several pipes."

But the bottom line remains the same: if it looks like a drum, beat it. □



Michael Smith, Canadian Decathlete

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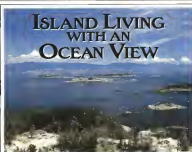
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Words from the world

Ethnic voices helped draw Canada's literary map

MAKING A DIFFERENCE: CANADIAN MULTICULTURAL LITERATURE

Susan Kambourell, editor
(Oxford University Press, 567 pages,
\$24.95)

In her comprehensive anthology, *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature*, Susan Kambourell includes the "two founding nations" definition of Canada with gusto. The University of Victoria English professor has collected previously published stories and poems of 71 Canadians representing a host of ethnicities, including Japanese-Canadian Joy Kogawa, Bengali writer Vikram Minz and Barbados-born Austin Clarke. In deed, Kambourell gathers together as many established authors from the so-called margins that it calls into question just what is meant: anymore by mainstream. But there that is just the point Kambourell sets out to make in the book's thoughtful and respectful introduction. At a time when the word "ethnicity" grows ever more synonymous with the term "visible minority," *Making a Difference* is a reminder that the vast majority of Canadians, whatever the color of their skin, originated somewhere else.

Kambourell regards the French and English cultures as just two of a number of groups that established themselves early in the country's history. "The land we now call Canada was already inhabited by a rich and multifaceted culture before the arrival of the first Europeans," she writes. The poems and stories of contemporary shanghaï writers offer a rich backdrop to that precolonial life, demanding acknowledgment of their people's historical presence. In "Bertha," B.C. shanghaï author Lee Maclean draws a parallel between the mistreated and physical disfigurement of an shanghaï woman and the deterioration of a First Nations culture at the hands of European traders. And Ontario Mohawk Beth Brant offers a cross-section north for the birth of North America in



Lee Maclean (below) shows poets from the margins, good writing is what counts

"This is History" Meanwhile, Nova Scotia's George Elliott Clarke, a seventh-generation black Canadian, views to write in what he calls an "Africanist" voice, a "black-souled, solitary and untheorized" voice that traces an African-Canadian tradition in the Maclean's back to the 1700s.

To further emphasize Canada's multi-ethnic roots, Kambourell organizes the anthology chronologically by the authors' birth dates. Frederick Philip Grove, born in Prussia in 1870, travelled across Canada in the 1890s holding lectures on the difficulties that new immigrants encountered. His story, "The First Day of an Immigrant," which opens the collection, depicts the unsettling effects of a steady stream of new immigrants on a turn-of-the-century prairie town.

Other selections, such as the excerpt from Joy Kogawa's novel *Obasan*, explore the clash of cul-

tures between the Old World and the New, particularly between parents and children. The emotional burden of collective cultural memories figures in the Holocaust-inspired poems of Jewish-Canadian A. M. Klein and Irving Layton, particularly Layton's poignant and disturbing "When I Write For" Ukrainian-Canadian Janice Kulyk Kasper occupies herself with issues of acceptance and assimilation. In her story, "Nach Uben," a child narrator explains this "English people, you understand, are not necessarily from Britain, they are simply those who are born with the language like a silver spoon, inside their mouths, like my Winnipeg instead of Vancouver, Thunder not Thunder Bay." Trinidadian-born Dionne Brand's addresses the cultural and political significance of language in her long poem, "No Language is Neutral."

Kambourell prefaces each work with a biographical sketch, many of which include the author's comments about the experience of being labelled a multicultural writer. Fast Mary Di Michele finds the positive, discriminatory and limiting. "My status as an ethnic writer is conferred, right?" she asks archly. Meanwhile, Robinson Mitry, whose novel, *A Fine Balance* won the \$20,000 Giller prize last year, emphasizes that all writers reflect a cultural viewpoint: "I am determined to write good literature. But to write well I must write about what I know best. In that way, I automatically speak for my tribe."

Mitry is only one of several award-winning authors in the anthology. Neo Bice, M. G. Vassilaki, Michael Ondaatje and Evelyn Lau are others who have also garnered national and international acclaim. But Kambourell is not especially concerned about ethnic writers' ability to win prestigious literary prizes. The aim of her anthology is to broaden the definition of what constitutes Canadian culture, and the sheer diversity of the selections attest to her success. At the same time, the consistently high quality of the stories and poems, and Kambourell's provocative essay, make for an entertaining, engaging read.

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Books

The incredible journey

ACCORDION CRIMES

By E. Annie Prosser
(Dutton, 264 pages, \$22)

At the centre of E. Annie Prosser's new novel, *Accordion Crimes*, is a little green accordion that is both sweet and dangerous to own. The man who steals it, a Sicilian immigrant to New Orleans, is shot by an anti-Italian mob in 1901. The instrument is stolen by a poor black musician, who is locked not long afterwards. Eventually, the accordion's melancholy tones convince a new owner, a German-American farmer who plays it to assuage his homesickness during the long prison sentence. Late in life, he dies horribly after a botched litho-enhancing operation. And so it goes. Crisscrossing America, the instrument travels through a century's worth of lives, leaving many of its owners dead in its wake, whether by coincidence or black magic is never made clear. The device allows Prosser to construct an epic tragicomedy of American life. Bitter, crisscrossed with grotesque detail and often gut-wrenchingly funny, *Accordion Crimes* is

Prosser's lament for a culture torn between perennial hope and the destruction wrought by its own boisterous excesses.

Prosser set her last novel, the best-selling *The Shipping News*, in Newfoundland. The American author—who is of French-Canadian descent—visited the island during the 1980s and clearly fell in love with the sheer eccentricity of the people. The novel revealed a penchant for the garish and the strange that has deepened, in *Accordion Crimes*, to a major theme. A typical passage, Prosser describes a man's skin as "grey and slick as the bottom of a boat." Death, too, comes in odd forms, usually violent. One character, a cat file restler, is sewn up in a cow's skin and left to dry in the prison sun. Another, an accordion maker, slowly dies from a spider bite, his agonies agonizingly evoked. As the novel progresses, Prosser's mordant vision expands to include even the myriad consumer objects suffocating Amer-

ica. Prosser loves to let the tasteless, worn-out items piled up in porcupine and rummage sales; her novel could easily have been subtitled *A Battered Yarn of Junk*.

Mischievous, the author keeps all this freight on the move with a hard-driving style and a quipping, almost macho tone. But her thundering energy and sinuous surfaces can be relaxing in its relentless sexual stimulation, her prose expert close to the puerile effusive barrage of images served up by television and the movies.

Yet *Accordion Crimes* is ultimately a triumph because it traces so accurately the path and byways of the heart. Whether writing about a New England orphan searching for his roots in the music of French Canada or a Bangor shepherd-turned-mayor in the hills of Montana, Prosser vividly conveys the essential human struggle to find meaning. There is something mysterious in all this, reflected in the green accordion itself. By the end of the novel, when it lies broken and forgotten, it has become almost a character in its own right, the repository of all the lives touched by its fatal music.

JOHN DEMEROUTI

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may well have invented the shot-put:
little knowing that it would become
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Publishing

Literary lights out

BY MARCI MACDONALD

For months, the rumors had buzzed of literary circles. Novelist Paul Quinington, president of the The Writers' Union of Canada, had been hired for bad news over since a thread emerged from a publishers' conference seeking input from the West Coast. Now, however, the industry and the division wrought by association.

tee this fall, and has put other exclusively Canadian projects on hold to concentrate on titles that she knows she can sell abroad. Instead, her lead selection is a coffee-table glossie on the American cowboy, others feature wild horses and western treasure. "They're by Canadian writers," she said, "but they're selling to someone else."

For many, Ontario Premier Mike Harris added much to inquiry by struggling off



The closure of a revered small press sends a chill through the book business

Across the little publishers are like farm teams in professional sports

changes that his government's enthusiasm-shaking Coach House's annual provincial funding by 74 per cent, to \$19,200—had dealt the publisher a death blow. "If they can't compete in the marketplace," Harris said, "they're not going to be there." Harris said reporters, "that probably speaks to their management capabilities." His indictment left publishers spluttering with rage. Referring to Harris's ill-fated former partnership in a North Bay ski hill, Stoddard lamented: "He has the gall to say this and he couldn't even run a ski resort."

But the province's proclamation with market forces reflects a wider public perception—that those in the cultural industries are perennial winners, addicted to government handouts. The notion is particularly galling to Coach House publisher Margaret MacLennan, who took over the press six

years ago. A former officer with the Ontario Arts Council, MacLennan recognized the "cooling frost climate" and set out to make the house less dependent on public largesse. By forging a Canadian distribution agreement with McClelland & Stewart and expanding the company's U.S. quarters, she had tripled sales to \$450,000 by last year. In deed, at the very moment MacLennan was announcing the closure of Coach House last week, the firm's U.S. agent, Les Shulberg, showed himself in Los Angeles besieging its squares about one of the 14 titles she had just cancelled: the script for David Greenberg's controversial new film, *Crash*. But despite such successes—and government grants—Coach House has rarely broken even. It is, in fact, a company that produces Canadian literature for a market that is one-tenth the size of the mainstream English-language book business and four times Coach House's. "Margaret's comments just show he's completely ignorant about the economics of book publishing."

While U.S. publishers can hardly even back their costs on home ground, their Canadian counterparts prize a niche as such economies of scale. Still, American books—such, together with British titles, occupy 80 per cent of the space on Canadian bookshelves at the market price. "If I can't do books were priced to reflect the real economics of publishing in this country," said MacLennan, "it would cost \$50 for a paperback." Worse, unlike most other retail book stores, book sellers can't return their unsold stock to publishers for a refund. Last Christmas, the industry suffered record returns—as high as 50 per cent of sales far from major firms. Given these market pressures, Anna Porter blames publishers for not doing a better job of making their case for public support. As the points out, even the oil and cable industries benefit from regulatory schemes. "I think we're not a really energy job of explaining how this is a really energy job," she said, "and what government funding and policy has accomplished in this country."

In fact, the inequities of the cultural marketplace lie behind many of the cultural policies now under attack. In the 1990s, Gordon Byrnes, one of the fathers of the CBC, argued that Canadians had a choice between funding from "the state or the United States." By the late 1980s, the push to foster a national identity brought a wide range of new cultural measures—and grants. Since then, a proliferation of Canada writers has flourished, earning plaintiffs



MacLennan saw a score of authors who found an early literary home at Coach House

and expert dollars abroad. Among them were such names as Alberto Manguel, Susan Swack, Anne Michaels, Ann-Marie MacDonald and George Wallace, many of whose first manuscripts found a home at Coach House Press. The company also became one of the few publishers to introduce English-Canadian readers to Quebec writers—including Nicole Brossard and Dany Robitaille. In a 1990s Laborer. Indeed, for many, the collapse of Coach House severed literary links coming just two weeks after Copps had announced a \$20-million fund to foster national unity. Signed Howard, "Twenty-million dollars for

national literary and then they demolish one of the few houses that does a lot of Quebec literature and translation." To publisher Malcolm Lester, who has just turned the management of his imprint over to Key Porter, that is only one paradox in the current policy tangle. "This is an industry that governments created over the past 30 years," he said. "Now, they seem to be undermining their own success."

But if those policies produced a thriving literary culture, publishing still remained a risky business. In an effort to correct it, in-betwixt structural problems, former Conservative communications minister Marcel Masse attempted to bring in measures that would guarantee the country's publishers a larger share of their own marketplace. That

legislation never materialized, and his contributions to the Canada policy, and a serving national council, was increasingly vitiated. Then in 1992, one of his successors, Patricia Beatty, provided over a legislative shield—that allows Canadian publishers to sell their firms to foreign interests—but only if their economic survival is at stake. Withholding paper costs and cuts that have slashed funding by 62 per cent over the past year, Stoddard worries that many companies now must that criterion. In addition, 30 small firms face the loss of critical lines of credit with the extinction of an Ontario program of loan guarantees. Said Stoddard, "The government has opened the door to a mass sell-off of the entire industry."

As Copps's sides present a new constitutional study of the book business commissioned by the heritage department, publishers are lobbying for permanent tax breaks or legislative criticism. As Art Bennett, chairman and CEO of McClelland & Stewart, put it: "We don't want handouts that are at their whim." Whatever course Ottawa finally chooses, the decision has the potential to shape not only the next generation of Canadian writers but the cultural well-being of the nation as well. Gordon Platt of the Canada Council: "It's a decision our government will have to take—whether we can afford to have a literary culture and tell our own stories, with our own identity and voice." □

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Allan Fotheringham

Who's in charge? And who's this Donovan guy?

If there any faint hope that anyone is in charge in this country? The country that the United Nations says is the best place in the world to live? Is there any chance that those at the top know what they're doing?

In Picton County in Nova Scotia, 26 dead miners are still mourned by their families. They were killed four years ago by criminal neglect and greed and no one will admit blame.

In May of 1992, Clifford Francis, as boss of the Westray mine, told *Northern Miner* magazine, "When I graduated, I decided to become a politician, and someday I wanted to be in a position where I was calling the shots in building mines the right way and creating jobs." In May of 1992, the mine and mismanaged Westray mine exploded and killed the 26 men.

Today, Clifford Francis sits in his 250-acre spread north of Toronto and brazenly, deliberately, refuses to return to Nova Scotia to testify in an inquiry that for some strange reason has taken four years to form. And the political and local authorities who are supposed to be running this country somehow in their brilliance cannot find a way to make him testify.

In the United States, where the citizenry gets angry—unlike in Canada, where the unelected accept complacency as the national religion—they find a way to make the president of the most powerful nation in the world testify in some silly probe into a real estate deal where nobody died except the bank clerk. In Canada, we can't even find some method of transferring Clifford Francis's body from Ontario to Nova Scotia to face the widows in the eye.

Francis, creator and chairman of mine-owner Carragh Resources Inc., raised only \$8 million of the \$127 million needed to open the mine. Four days before a Nova Scotia election, provincial industry minister Donald Cameron announced a \$13-million pre-election loan.

Western is in the riding of former Conservative MP Elmer Mackay, who, in 1983, resigned as new Tory leader Brian Mulroney could get into the Commons. When the Bank of Nova Scotia provided Westray with a \$100-million loan, the government, led by Mulroney, guaranteed 80 per cent of the loan.

Donald Cameron, going on to become premier—after Mulroney put the incumbent, John Buchanan, in the Senate—was then in-

terested with the post of Canada's normal general with a plush estate outside Boston. On the stand at the Westray inquiry, he blamed the dead miners for their own deaths.

And nobody in this country has the guts to tackle Clifford Francis. In Ottawa, there is an alleged defence minister by the name of David Collette. He is supposed to be in charge of Canada's armed forces. The greatest aspect of our modern, underarmed armed forces used to be peacocking around the world. Our prime minister, Lester Pearson, won a Nobel Prize for his initiatives in that regard.

It has been revealed that Canadian soldiers in Somalia were given permission to shoot looters. Some of them, for sport, beat the local doctors and tortured and killed one of them.

Under the alleged Mr. Collette, high generals have pointed fingers, ducks it, babbled and disappeared, blundered orders to shoot and chaotic documents were given.

Now, we learn, the money has gone to Boston where previously violent Canadian peacockers are reported to have gone looting at a mental hospital they were supposed to protect—beating the nurses and employees, slaughtering doctors and getting into black-market deals. The military police, it turns out, found out all about this in 1994.

And the alleged defence minister remains in his job. Is anybody running this country?

Also in Ottawa, allegedly the capital of the best country in the world, there is still unresolved the treatment of Brian Mulroney. The alleged people who run the RCMP and the justice

department have been caught in the ridiculous position of receiving a grossly paid minister of being as stupid as to accept losing wife as a bribe. They can't come up with any proof. They won't admit they got it, they didn't and dwell in court and it is only a matter of time before they have to confess to the taxpayer how much embarrassment money they will have to pay Mr. Mulroney for their stupidity and overconfidence. Is justice in charge?

Meanwhile, those who are not in charge manage to send to the Allan Chynoweth, in our representative, the presently non-diplomatic politician in the land, Sheila Copps. Not content with the fact that make us pay for an expensive helicopter whose road was compromised, they have representing our pristine athletes, who are told not to take drugs, a job who athletes she doesn't mean what she says. In the Ottawa that is alleged to exist, the Prime Minister, as his successor, says he has never heard of Donovan Bailey, the world champion who has the best chance—since 20-year-old Vancouverite Percy Williams won two sports in Amsterdam in 1908—to win a gold medal in the 100-meter event.

It all works out. A leader who can't force a mine owner to return to the scene of the crime, and won't fire an incompetent defence minister, and won't do right to a former PM, and would send Sheila Copps to represent Canada—well, it fits that he's never heard of Donovan Bailey.

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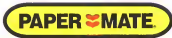
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